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ENGLISH



*George Paterson of
Castle Huntly Esq.*

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Miscellanea.

THE FIRST PART.

CONTAINING

- I. *A Survey of the Constitutions and Interests of the Empire, Sweden, Denmark, Spain, Holland, France and Flanders; with their Relation to England, in the Year 1671.*
- II. *An Essay upon the Original and Nature of Government.*
- III. *An Essay upon the Advancement of Trade in Ireland.*
- IV. *Upon the Conjuncture of Affairs in October, 1673.*
- V. *Upon the Excesses of Grief.*
- IV. *An Essay upon the Cure of the GOVT by Moxa.*

By Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar.

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A SURVEY of the Constitutions and Interests of the EMPIRE, SWEDEN, DENMARK, SPAIN, HOLLAND, FRANCE, and FLANDERS; with their Relation to ENGLAND in the Year 1671. and then given to one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, upon the ending of my Embassie at the HAGUE.

THE Decay and Dissolution of Civil, as well as Natural Bodies, proceeding usually from outward Blows and Accidents, as well as inward Distempers or Infirmities, it seems equally necessary for any Government to know and reflect upon the Constitutions, Forces, and Conjunctures among
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their Neighbouring States, as well as the Factions, Humours, and Interests of their own Subjects: For all Power is but comparative; nor can any Kingdom take a just Measure of its Safety by its own Riches or Strength at home, without casting up at the same time what Invasions may be feared, and what Defences expected from Enemies or Allies abroad.

'Tis certain, That so advantageous a Situation as that of His Majesty's Dominions in these Islands of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, makes any Foreign Consideration less important to us, than to any other Nation; Because the Numbers and Native Courage of our Men, with the Strength of our Shipping, have so many Ages past (and still, for ought we yet know) made us a Match for the greatest of our Neighbours at Land; and an Over-match for the strongest of them at Sea: whereas whoever hurts us without our own Arms, must be able to master us in both these Elements. Yet in regard there are the Names of several Conquests remaining still upon

on Record (though all of them the
 meer Effects of our own Divisions
 or Invitations;) when Trade is grown
 the Design of all Nations in *Europe*,
 that are possess of any Maritime Pro-
 vinces, as being the only unexhau-
 sted Mine, and out of whose Trea-
 sures all Greatness at Sea naturally
 arises: When in stead of a King of
France surrounded and bearded by
 Dukes of *Britany* and *Burgundy*, as
 well as our own Possessions in *Nor-*
mandy and *Guienne*; instead of a
 Count of *Flanders* or *Holland*, who
 served for no more, than like the
 smaller Weights to make the Balance
 sometimes a little even in the greater
 Scales of the *English*, *French*, and
German Powers; We now behold in
France the greatest Land-forces that
 perhaps have ever been know under
 the Command of any Christian Prince;
 And in the *United Provinces*, the
 greatest numbers both of Ships and
 Mariners that were ever yet heard of
 under any State in the World; and
 which have hitherto been only awed
 by the strength of our Oak, the Art
 of our Ship-wrights, and chiefly by the

invincible hearts of our Seamen. When the prospect of these two Powers brings us to consider, that any firm conjunction of them, either by Confederacy, or the Submission of *Holland*, will prove the nearest approach that was ever made to our ruine and servitude: It may perhaps import us in this Calm we enjoy, to hearken a little more than we have done of late, to the Storms that are now raising abroad, and by the best Perspectives we can find, to discover from what Coast they break, what course they are like to hold, how much we can lie in their danger, and whether the shelter expected from us by our Neighbours, will be only a strain of Generosity and Humanity, or the best Provision we can make hereafter for our own Safety.

Those Countries in whose Actions or Interests we have at any time concerned our selves, have been the *Empire*, *France*, *Spain*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and the *Low-Countries*, in the two several Bodies usually distinguished by the Names of *Flanders* and *Holland*. For with *Poland* we have never gone further than our good Wishes towards
their

their Defence against the *Turk*; Nor with *Italy*, than the Offices of Ceremony, or Interest of Traffick; unless sometimes some short Negotiation that served the present Turn to stop the aspiring Growth of either the *French* or *Spanish* Greatness, in those as well as nearer Parts.

THE Foreign Interests of the Empire are the Defence of the Eastern Parts against the *Turk*, and the Preservation of the Western Circles against the growth of *France*. The Domestick are the limited Constitution of the Imperial Power, and the Balance of the several Free Princes and States of the Empire among themselves. The two last have raised no Dust since the Peace of *Munster*; which seems chiefly occasioned by the *Swede's* coming in to be a Member of the Empire, upon the Share then yielded to him in *Pomerania* and *Bremen*. These give him an immediate entrance into the Heart of *Germany*, where the Native Poverty of his own Country makes him consider'd as still upon the Wing,

and ready to stop at the first Quarry he can meet with upon any Divisions in the Empire; so as there seems a general Resolution not to furnish him with such Occasions. Their Defence against the *Turk* will be provided and pursued by Common Inclinations and Forces, unless those Princes of the Western Circles should at the same time be busied in some nearer danger from *France*. But if the Grand Vicer be so great a Man as he is reputed in Politicks, as well as Arms, he will never consent by an Invasion of *Hungary*, to make way for the advance of the *French* Progress into the Empire, which a Conquest of the *Low-Countries* would make easie and obvious: And so great accessions (with others that would lie fair and open in the *Spanish* Provinces upon the Mediterranean) would make *France* a formidable Power to the *Turk* himself, and greater than I suppose he desires to see any in *Christendom*. So that it seems not improbable, that the present Peace between the *Emperour* and the *Turk*, may last longer than is generally calculated by the Fears or Desires of
of

of those who are most concerned in it.

In the preservation of the Western Circles (especially that of *Burgundy* and the *Rhine*) against the Progress of the *French* Greatness, the Dispositions, if not Interests of the several Members of the Empire, seem much more divided. The Emperour himself is firm in resolving it, because he has nothing to fear so much as the Power and Ambition of *France*, in regard of their Common Pretensions to *Spain*, after the young King's Death, and a Jealousie of the Empire it self after a further course of Success: But he will be faint in any execution of such a Counsel, unless spirited by the unanimous Decrees of a General Dyet; from his own Dispositions, which are thought rather Generous and Just, than Ambitious and Enterprizing; from the influence of the *Jesuits* in that Court, who are observed to grow generally *French*, as they were *Spanish* in the last Age; from the fear of the *Turks*, who are still like a Cloud that hangs over his Head; And from a jealousy of *Sweden* joining absolutely with *France*,

which might share a great part of the Empire between them.

The Elector of *Saxony* would fall intirely into the Interests of the Emperor in this point, as a Prince that is a true *German*, loves the Liberty of the Empire; foresees, that if it should fall into the *French* Hands, all the Princes would grow little Companions to what they are, or return to be the several Officers of his Court; as they were in the unlimited Greatness of some Ancient Emperours. Besides, his distance from *France*, tho it does not instruct him to think wiser than other Princes, yet it helps him to speak boldlier what he thinks upon these Conjunctions.

The Elector of *Brandenburgh* and Landtgrave of *Hesse*, and at least two of the Dukes of *Lunenburgh*, are in their Dispositions and Judgments upon the same Interests: But will be influenced and awed by *Sweden*, whose ill Talent will be still suspected to *Brandenburgh*, upon the Differences in *Prussia*; and to *Lunenburgh*, upon the late Disappointment at *Bremen*.

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The Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* have the same Inclinations; but lying at the mercy of *France*, in so near and so imperious a Neighbourhood, they will take no Measures wherein they may not see their own Safety provided for, as well as that of the Empire; Wherein no Prince has greater Reputation of Prudence and Caution, than the Bishop of *Mentz*.

The Elector *Palatine*, either upon Remainders of the ancient Leagues with *France*, or Quarrels with the House of *Austria*, has been thought inclined to the *French*: But as a wise Prince will be found generally in the true Interests of the Empire as far as the Seat of his Country will give him leave which in a War will be so much exposed.

The Elector of *Bavaria* has been esteemed wholly in the *French* Interests since the Treaty of *Munster*; but by what Ties or Motives, has not fallen under my observation, in regard of the distance of his Country, and small Commerce out of the Limits of the Empire.

The

The Elector of *Cologne* is a Person of much natural Goodness and Candour, but of Age and Infirmities, and whom Devotion and Chymistry have shared between them, and in a manner removed from the Affairs of his State; which have been long and entirely devolved upon the Bishop of *Straßburgh*; a Man busie, and always in motion or intrigue: But for the rest, whether upon future Ambition, or present Advantages, esteemed to be perfectly in the *French* Interests; so as whatever use can be made by *France* of that Elector's Name or Country, may be reckoned upon as wholly at the devotion of that Crown.

The Duke of *Nieuburgh* is in his Person and Mein, rather like an *Italian* than a *German*; and should be so in his Disposition, by playing the Game of an *Italian* Prince; in declaring no Partialities, provoking no Enemies, and living more Retired than the other Princes of his Country; Having never shewed any ambition, but for the Crown of *Poland*, which Design helpt to inspire him with great Compliance towards

towards all his Neighbours, and other Princes, who were able to do him good or ill Offices in that Point. But the failing of it, was thought to have something disobliged him from *France* (upon whose Assistance he reckoned) and has sunk him in a Debt, which he will hardly recover.

The Bishop of *Munster* is made only considerable by his Situation, which lies the fittest of all others, to invade *Holland*: And by the Dispositions of this Man, which are unquiet, and ambitious to raise a Name in the World: An old implacable Hatred to the *Dutch*, upon their Intelligence with his chief Town of *Munster*: Their Usurpation (as he pretends) of *Borkloe*, and some other small Places in his Country: Their Protection of the Countess of *Ben-then*; and the Hopes of sharing *Over-yffel* or *Friezland*, if ever their Spoils come to be divided, make him a certain Friend to what Prince soever is Enemy to them, and will furnish him with Men or Money enough to appear in the Head of an Army against them.

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The general Interest that the several Princes of the Empire have with us, is grounded wholly upon the Esteem of His Majesty's Power, and the Veneration of His Name; which is so great amongst them, that most of them are resolved in the present Conjunction of Affairs in *Christendom*, to understand perfectly His Language, before they speak their own.

THE Government of *Sweden* is esteemed steady and wise, as their People warlike and numerous. The digestion of their Counsels is made in a Senate consisting of Forty Councillors, who are generally the greatest Men of the Kingdom, in Office, Estates, or Abilities; and who have most of them been Commanders in the *German* Wars, or are so in the present Militia; which makes their Counsels generally Warlike and Ambitious, tho' something tempered by the Minority of their King. This has turned them, for some years since their last King's death, rather to make advantages by the Name and Reputation of their Alliances, than by the appearance of their Arms. But if

if their King grows a Man, and of Martial Thoughts, as may be presaged from so great a Father, we may see great Actions and Revolutions grow again out of this Northern Climate. For the Names of *Goth* and *Vandal*, and their famous Successes both in *Poland* and *Germany* this last Age, inspire them with great Thoughts; and the Bodies and Courages of their common Men, as well as the Prudence and Conduct of their great Officers, seem to have framed them for great Undertakings. Besides, their application of late Years to Trade, has much increas'd their Shipping and Seamen (which they found to be their weak-side in their last Attempts). All these may in time make way for their great design, which is, the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea by the Conquest of *Denmark*. This was about the Year 59., wrested out of their Hands by the *Dutch* Assistances, and can hardly escape them, if ever that Common-wealth should be broken. And if they arrive once at this Point, there will grow a Power in that rough Climate which both at Land and Sea may equal most others that
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are now in *Christendom*; by being Masters of such numbers of strong and valiant Men, as well as of all the Naval Stores that furnish the World.

They have a nearer prospect upon the City of *Bremen*; by the addition whereof to the Bishoprick already in their possession, they design to lay a great Foundation both of Trade and Strength in the nearer Parts of *Germany*.

Their next Interest seems to be a long knocking War in the Empire, or the *Low-Countries*; which will make them courted by all, till they think fit to declare: And then will bring them to a share in the Game: And those often go away with the greatest, who bring in least when the Stake begins. The Neglects of *France* since the Peace of *Munster*, and the late Courtship of *Spain*, seem to have left them open for the fairest Offer from either of those Crowns: But rather inclin'd to *Spain*, which has still the surest Fonds of Treasure (if they could fall into good Method or Direction) and to whom they are more necessary than
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than to *France*, which has out-grown almost all measures with their Neighbours. They have a peek to *Holland* something in shew, but more at heart; as lying cross to their three designs; the Dominion of the *Baltick*, their Acquisition of *Bremen*, and a War in the Upper or Lower *Germany*. And they are so Wise a State as to be found commonly in their Interest; which for these reasons, is either an absolute breaking; or a great weakening of that Common-wealth. Besides, they esteemed themselves at least neglected by them in the late Negotiation of the Tripple Alliance, wherein they expected constant Subsidies in the time of Peace, from *Spain* and *Holland*, to engage them in the defence of all those Provinces against the threatenng power of *France*.

An old friendship to our Nation, and Alliance, proceeding from a long conjunction of Interests, besides the necessity of keeping well with one of the greatest Maritime Powers, will (as may be conjectured) perswade them to follow His Majesty's measures the closest and furthest of any State in
Europe

Europe. This gave them the first Design of entring into the Tripple Alliance. And into the Commerce with *Spain* in the Year 68, and their Resolution of keeping pace with His Majesty in both these Points, as well as the Consequences of them: Which they will do, unless the present Scene should wholly change, and open new Counsels and Interests not yet thought of in the World.

THE Kingdom of *Denmark* seems less considerable than their Neighbour-Crown, from a fainter Spirit which appears of late in their People, and in their Government itself; as well as a great inequality of number in their Forces both at Sea and Land: For the last change of their Government, from Elective to Hereditary; has made it seem hitherto of less force, and unfitter for Action abroad. As all great Changes brought about by force or Address in an old Constitution of Government (rooted in the Hearts and Customs of the People, though they may in time prove an encrease of Strength and Greatness

ness (when fallen into Method, and grown easie by use); Yet for many years they must needs weaken it, by the divisions and distractions of Mens minds, and discontents of their humours; and so turn the Counsels upon Designs within, desisting from any without; And advantages upon Enemies, must give way to those upon Subjects. So as the breaking down an old frame of Government, and erecting a new, seems like cutting down an old Oak (because the fruit decays, and the branches grow thin), and planting a young one in the room. Tis true the Son or Grandson (if it prospers) may enjoy the shade and the masse; but the Planter, besides the pleasure of Imagination, has no other benefit to recompence the pains of Setting and Digging, the care of Watering and Pruning, the fears of every Storm and every Drought: and it is well, if he escapes a blow from the fall of the old Tree, or its Boughs, as they are lopt off.

The change in *Denmarke* was the safer, by having to deal with a soft, easie People, and with Nobles grown

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to have small power or interest amongst them, and of whom many were gained by the Crown. Besides that nothing seemed to concern Property in the change of Successive for Elective. And the example of all Christian Crowns (besides that of *Poland*) made way for it: and yet it is certain that *Denmark* has continued ever since weak and unspirited, bent only upon safety, and enjoying the Revenues of the *Sound* (which are the chief belonging to that Crown.) So as their great Interest is their defence against *Sweden*; And for the rest, a general Peace, by which Traffique encreasing they may come in for a share, and see their Customs grow in the *Sound* and *Norway*. They reckon'd chiefly upon their support from *Holland*, till seeing them fall into closer measures with Us and *Sweden*, upon the Tripple Alliance, they have tack'd some points nearer *France*; and the rather, because of the unkindness grown in the last *Dutch* War, between us and them. Yet they have it at heart, that *Holland* has ever used them insolently, if not scornfully, in the whole course of
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of their Treaties and Alliances, as well as the Differences between them about the Payments of the *Sound*; and will be ever ready and resolute in the defence of *Hamborough*, whenever the *Danes* shall have Strength and Heart enough to attacque it; which seems the chief Ambition they have left them abroad.

THE Crown of *Spain* was in all *Philip* the Second's time lookt upon as both the Terror and Defence of *Christendom*; No Monarchy having ever grasped at so great an Empire there, and at the same time pursued an open War against so great a Power as the *Turks*. This Greatness was grown up by the Union of the Houses of *Castile* and *Arragon*, of that of *Burgundy* and the *Netherlands*, with that of *Naples* and *Sicily*; By the Accession or Conquest of *Portugal*; By that of the *Indies* (when their Mines bled fresh, as they did many years after their first Opening); By the number of brave Troops and Leaders, which were raised and made by the various and continual Wars of *Charles*

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the Fifth; But chiefly by the uninterrupted Succession of Three Great Princes, *Ferdinand, Charles, and Philip*; Which can never fail of raising a small Kingdom to a great, no more than the contrary of bringing down a great one to a small. But whoever measures the Crown of *Spain* now, by the Scale of that Age, may fanſie a Man of Fourſcore by a Picture drawn of him at Thirty; 'Tis like a great old Tree, which has loſt its Branches and Leaves, *Et trunco non frondibus efficit umbram*. Though no Man knows, whether out of this old Root a Sucker may not ſpring, that with a little ſhelter at firſt, and good Seasons, may in time prove a mighty Tree: for there ſeems ſtill to remain Strength and Sap in the Root to furniſh a fair growth, though not in proportion to the firſt. Theſe decays have been occaſioned by ſo long a War with *Holland* (ſupported by all the Neighbours, who envied or feared the Greatneſs of *Spain*;) By the exhauſting in a great degree of their *Indian* Mines; By that of their Natives to furniſh the *Indian* Conqueſts, and ſecure all their Provinces both in
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Italy and *Flanders*; But most of all, by two Successions (which we may at least call) of unactive Princes, and the want of any great Ministry to repair either them, or the Minority of this King, in which they ended. Unless this Crown out-grow its present Weakness, by some great Spirit rising up at the Head of the Monarchy, who shall digest their Counsels, reform the vast and impertinent Profusions of their Treasures, by suppressing all unnecessary Pensions and Expences, and restore the Vigour of their Nation by Martial Designs and Examples; We may reckon the Interest of *Spain* to lie wholly in the Preservation and Defence of *Flanders* from *France*, of *Sicily* from the *Turks*, and of their *Indies* from Us. That of *Sicily* seems more remote, because both *Hungary* and *Poland* is a nearer Game for the *Turk*, and will not so generally alarm or unite the Christian Princes, as the Invasion of *Sicily*, wherein *France* as well as *Italy* is so, near concerned. The jealousy of their *Indies* has been much nearer them since our possession of *Jamaica*; And akes at

heart upon every Fit which the desperate Sallies of our Privateers there bring upon them. But they hope to make fair Weather in those Seas, by opening to us some Advantages of Trade there, and by a Conjunction of Interests in *Europe*, which they think the Greatness of *France* makes as necessary to us, as to them.

Their Quarrel to *France* by a course of almost continual Wars ever since *Charles* the Fifth's time, by the late Pretensions to *Flanders*, set on Foot by *France* since the death of their last King, and pursued by the late Invasion (which the *Spaniards* pretend to have been against all Faith, as well as Right) seems to be grown wholly incurable, though dissembled by the sense of their own weakness, which makes them rather willing to deceive themselves with a Peace that they know must fail them, than break out into a War they fear must ruine them, without the Assistance of their Neighbours. And this they hope some breach of the Peace at *Aix* on the *French* side, or other Accidents, may at one time or other engage for them. And though
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as they stand single, their present interest is but bare Defence, and wearing out their King's Minority without further Losses; yet a greater Interest, and far more at heart, is a War with *France* in Conjunction with the Triple Alliance, or at least with Us and *Holland*. For though the Peace holds yet while *France* continues so great Forces and designs on foot, the Preservation of *Flanders* will cost *Spain* 200 m. pounds a year, besides the Revenues of the Country. And what is left them in those Provinces, remains so lockt and interwoven with the last *French* Conquests, that upon the first breach of a War it is all indangered; and indeed cannot be any ways secured, but by a strong Diversion, which may employ the greatest part of the *French* Forces in some other Places. These Regards and that of being hardly used (as they conceive) by Us and *Holland*, in the peace of *Aix*, which forced them to quit so much of their Country to *France*, and of their Money to *Sweden*, have raised up a Party in their Council, that would make and secure the best Peace they

can with *France* by a Cession of *Flanders* to that Crown in exchange for other Provinces towards *Spain*, and of some other Pretensions. But this will not be cartied in a Minority of their King; at least without greater fears of a sudden Invasion from *France*, and greater Despairs of help from Us. Because whenever they quit *Flanders*, they must be content to shut themselves up within their Mountains, and signifie nothing more in the Affairs of *Europe*. Nor could they perhaps long be safe either in *Spain* or *Italy*, if they were there to sustain all the Forces of *France*, without the great Diversion they have always made by *Flanders*; out of which, whenever they are Masters of the Field, they march in four or five days up into the very Isle of *France*.

To compass these two Interests either of Defence or a War in Confederacy, they would fain engage *Sweden*; but will endanger this Aim, by the fear of venturing their Money before the Game begins. They reckon themselves sure of *Holland* as far as their Defence, but know, they will
never

never be brought to begin a war with *France*. And the old Rancours between *Spaniard* and *Dutch*, are not yet enough worn out of the Dispositions of the People or the Governments, to make room for such an absolute Turn. Their great hope is in *England*, where their Inclination carries them as well as their Interest. Besides, they think our old as well as fresh Quarrels with *France*, and the Jealousie of their present growth, will temper us for their turn at one time or other, so that their Measures will ever be fair with us; But no more towards preserving their Peace, because they think our Interest as well as our Treaties will be enough to engage us so far, without other Motives. Though to heed a War against *France*, wherein both *Sweden* and *Holland* would (as they think) follow our Paces: There is no Advantage which the Crown of *Spain* could make us in Trade, nor Money they could spare from their own Necessities (in the share of the Quarrel) which they would not willingly furnish us and trust to the Events of a War how uncertain soever.

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THE State of *Holland*, in point both of Riches and Strength, is the most prodigious growth that has been seen in the World, if we reckon it from their Peace with *Spain*; before which time, though their Forces were great both at Land and Sea, yet they were kept down by too violent exercise; And that Government could not be said to stand upon its own Legs, leaning always on their Neighbours, who were willing to support them against *Spain*, and feared nothing from a State so narrow in compass of Land, and so weak in Native Subjects that the Strength of their Armies has ever been made up of foreign Troops. But since that time, what with the benefit of their Situation, and Orders of their Government, the Conduct of their Ministers (driving on steady and Publick Interest), the Art, Industry, and Parsimony of their People; All conspiring to drive almost the Trade of the whole World into their Circle, (while their Neighbours were taken up either in Civil or Foreign Wars.) They have grown so
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considerable in the World, that for many years they have treated upon an equal Foot with all the great Princes of *Europe*, and concluded no Negotiation without advantage: And in the last War with Us and *Munster*, were able at the same time to bring above a hundred Men of War to Sea, and maintain threescore and ten thousand Men at Land. Besides the Establishment or Conquests of their Companies in the *East-Indies*, have in a manner erected another subordinate Commonwealth in those Parts; Where upon occasion they have armed five and forty Men of War, and thirty thousand Land-Men, by the modestest Computations. Yet the Frame of this State (as of most great Machines made for rest and not for motion) is absolutely incapable of making any considerable Enlargements or Conquests upon their Neighbours: Which is evident to all that know their Constitutions: But needs no other Argument besides their want of Native Subjects to manage any such Attempts; What Men they can spare, being drawn so wholly into their Trade, and their *Fast-Indies*,
that

that they cannot so much as furnish a Colony for *Surinam*, proportioned to the Safety and Plantation of that Place: And no Nation ever made and held a Conquest by Mercenary Arms. So that the Wounds and Fears they can give their Neighbours, consists in point of Trade; In Injuries or Insolencies at Sea; In falling with great weight into a Balance with other Princes; In protecting their Rebels or Fugitives; And in an arrogant way of treating with other Princes and States; a quality natural to Men bred in popular Governments, and derived of late years from the great Successes of theirs under the present Ministry.

It may be laid (I believe) for a Maxim, That no Wise State will ever begin a War, unless it be upon designs of Conquests, or necessity of Defence; For all other Wars serve only to exhaust Forces and Treasure, and end in untoward Peace, patcht up out of weakness or weariness of the parties: therefore the *Hollanders*, unless invaded either at home or in *Flanders* (which they esteem now the same case, if it comes from *France*)
can

can have no Interest to offer at a War; But find their greatest in continuing their course of Traffick uninterrupted, and enjoying the Advantages which in that Point their Industry and Address will gain them from all their Neighbours. And for these ends they will endeavour to preserve the Peace now in being, and bandy by Leagues and Negotiations against any from whom they shall fear a Breach of it.

They will ever seek to preserve themselves by an Alliance with *England* against *France*, and by that of *France* against *England*; as they did formerly by both against *Spain*. And they will fall into all Conjunctions which may serve to balance in some measure the two lesser Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, as well as the greater of *France* and *Spain*. But because they believe that good Arms are as necessary to keep Peace as to make War; They will always be Great in their Preparations of that kind, especially at Sea; By which they may, in all cases, advance or secure their Trade, and upon a War with *France*, make
up

up that way the weakness of their Land-forces, which along with of Peace, and a swarm of Officers preferred by the Magistrates in favour of their Relations, has brought to be very disproportioned in Force to what they are in Number. They esteem themselves secure from *Spain* and their *German* Neighbours (upon what has been said of the present Condition of those Princes): And from Us, not so much upon our late Treaties with them, as upon what they take to be the common Interest, which they think a Nation can never run over, and believe is the opposing any further progress of the *French* Greatness. Their only danger they apprehend, is from *France*, and that not immediately to themselves, but to *Flanders*; where any Flame would soon scorch them, and consume them, if not quenched in time. But in regard of the weakness of *Spain*, the slow Motions of the *Empire* the different Paces among the Princes of it, and the distance of *Sweden*; They esteem the Peace of *Christendom* to depend wholly upon His Majesty, as well as the Safety of *Flan-*

Flanders, in case of a War. For they think *France* will be dared, and never take wing, while they see such a naval Power as ours and the *Dutch* hovering about all their Coasts; And so many other Princes ready to fall in, whenever His Majesty declares, united by the same jealousies or dangers. And if they should open a War, they foresee the Consumption which *France* must fall into by the stop of their Wine, Salts, and other Commodities (now in a manner wholly taken off by our two Nations): And the Head that may be made against their Forces in the Field it self, by a body of *English* Infantry (so much renowned abroad.) So as though their first Interest be to continue the Peace, while it may be done with any safety; yet when that fails, their next is to open a war in favour of *Spain*, and conjunction with us. And the greatest they have in the world, is to preserve and increase their Alliance with us; which will make them follow our measures absolutely in all the present Conjunctions.

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THE Crown of *France*, considered in the Extent of Country, in the number of People, in the riches of Commodities, in the Revenues of the King, the greatness of the Land-Forces now on Foot, and the growth of those at Sea (within these two years past,) the number and bravery of their Officers, the conduct of their Ministers, and chiefly in the Genius of their present King; a Prince of great aspiring Thoughts, unwearied application to whatever is in pursuit, severe in the institution and preservation of Order and Discipline; In the main a Manager of his Treasure, and yet bountiful from his own Motions, where-ever he intends the marks of Favour, and discerns particular Merit; To this in the flower of his Age, at the Head of all his Armies, and hitherto unfoiled in any of his attempts, either at home or abroad: I say, considered in all these circumstances, *France* may appear to be designed for greater Achievements and Empires, than have been seen in *Christendom* since that of *Charlemaign*.

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The present Greatness of this Crown may be chiefly derived from the Fortune it has had of two great Ministers (*Richlieu* and *Mazarine*) succeeding one another, between two great Kings, *Henry* the Fourth, and this present Prince; so as during the course of one unactive Life, and of a long Minority, that Crown gained a great deal of Ground both at home and abroad, instead of losing it; Which is the common Fate of Kingdoms, upon those Occasions.

The latter greatness of this Crown began in the time of *Lewis* the Eleventh, by the Spoils of the House of *Burgundy*, and the Divisions of the Princes, which gave that King the heart of attempting to bring the Government (as he call'd it) *Hors de Page*; being before controuled by their Princes, and restrained by their States; and in point of Revenue, kept within the bounds of the King's Demesnes, and the Subjects voluntary Contributions.

'Tis not here necessary to observe, by what difficulties and dangers to the Crown, this Design of *Lewis* was pursued

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sued by many succeeding Kings, like a great Stone forced up a Hill, and upon every slackening of either strength or care, rolling a great way back, often to the very bottom of the Hill, and sometimes with the destruction of those that forced it on, till the time of Cardinal *Richlieu*. It was in this great Minister most to be admired, that finding the Regency shaken by the Factions of so many great ones within; and awed by the terror of the *Spanish* Greatness without; he durst resolve to look them both in the face, and begin a War by the course of which for so many Years (being pursued by *Mazarine* till the Year 60,) the Crown of *France*, grew to be powerfully armed; The Peasants were accustomed to Payments (which could have seemed necessary only by a War, and which none but a successful one could have helped to digest) and grew heartless as they grew poor. The Princes were sometimes satisfied with Commands of the Army, sometimes mortified and suppressed by the absoluteness or addresses of the Ministry; The most boiling Blood of the Nobility and Gentry was let out in so long

long a War, nor wasted with Age and Exercise: At last it ended at the *Pi-
rennees* in a Peace, and a Match so ad-
vantageous to *France*, as the Reputa-
tion of them contributed much to the
Authority of the young King, who was
bred up in the Councils, and served
by the tried Instruments of the former
Ministry; But most of all advantaged
by his own Personal Qualities, fit to
make him obey'd, grew absolute Ma-
ster of the Factions of the Great Men,
as well as the Purfes of his People. In
the beginning of his Minority, the two
Disputes with the Pope about the Out-
rage of the *Corfi*, and with the King of
Spain, about the Encounter at *London*,
between the Count *D'strades*, and the
Baron *de Basseville*; (Embassadors from
those Crowns,) both carried so high,
and both ended so honourably, and to
the very will of *France*, were enough to
give a young Prince the humour and
appetite of trying yet further what
there was could oppose him. The In-
vasion and easie Success in *Flanders*, fed
his Glory, and increas'd the Reputation
of his Power; Till this Career was in-
terrupted by the Peace at first, then the

Alliances between us and *Holland*, and afterwards the Peace at *Aix*, and the Tripple Alliance (contracted purposely to secure it); since which time the Counsels of that Court have turned wholly from Action to Negotiation; of which no Man can yet see the Success, nor judge whether it may not be more prosperous to them, than that of their Arms.

If there were any certain height where the Flights of Power and Ambition use to end, one might imagine, that the Interest of *France* were but to conserve its present Greatness, so feared by its Neighbours, and so glorious in the World: But besides that the motions and desires of humane minds are endless, it may perhaps be necessary for *France* (from respects within) to have some War or other in pursuit abroad, which may amuse the Nation, and keep them from reflecting upon their Condition at home, hard and uneasie to all but such as are in charge, or in pay from the Court. I do not say miserable (the term usually given it) because no Condition is so, but to him that esteems it so; and if a *Paisan* of
France

France thinks of no more, than his coarse Bread and his Onions, his Canvas Cloths and Wooden Shooes; labours contentedly on Working-days, and dances or plays merrily on Holy-days; He may, for ought I know, live as well as a Boor of *Holland*, who is either weary of his very Ease, or whose cares of growing still richer and richer, waste his Life in Toils at Land, or Dangers at Sea; and perhaps fool him so far, as to make him enjoy less of all kind in his Riches, than t'other in his Poverty.

But to leave strains of Philosophy, which are ill mingled with Discourses of Interest: The Common People of *France* are as little considerable in the Government, as the Children; so that the Nobles and the Soldiers may in a manner be esteemed the Nation; Whose interest and Hopes carry them all to War: And whatever is the general humour and bent of a Nation, ought ever to be much considered by a State, which can hardly miscarry in the pursuit of it. Besides, the personal Dispositions of the King, Active and Aspiring, and many Circumstances in the Govern-

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meant (fitter for Persons of that Court, than Strangers to pretend the knowledge of;) The continual increase of their Forces in time of Peace, and their fresh Invasion of *Lorrain*, are enough to perswade most Men, that the design of this Crown is a War, whenever they can open it with a prospect of succeeding to purpose; For their Counsels are too wise to venture much upon the hopes of little gains. What the aims of *France* are in this kind, I will not pretend to judge by common fears or the Schemes of Men too ingeniously Politick: nor perhaps can any one tell any more than a Man that leaps into the Water in strength and vigour, and with pleasure, can say how far he will swim; which will be, till he is stopp'd by currents or accidents, or grows weary, or has a mind to do something else. One may judge, that if *France* will begin a War, it would be naturally upon *Flanders*, unless discouraged by the same Alliances which prevailed with them to end the last; so as the plain present Interest of *France*, is one way or other to break the confidence or the force of that Tripple Alliance, which

which alone seems to bound their Prospect, which way soever they look : And if once laid open, they have the World and their fortunes before them ; which is enough for a Crown that has so much Force, and so much Conduct to manage them. Having little hopes of breaking this on the *Dutch* side, and knowing the *Swede* will follow our Measures in it, we may be sure of all Address, and all the Courtship that can any way be infused. And in short, all sorts of Endeavours and Applications that can be used, to break in on ours. Which seems to be the present Game of that Crown, and that they will begin no other till they see an end of this.

F*landers* cannot be considered distinct from *Spain* in the Government, but may in the Inclinations of the People, which must ever have a great influence upon it. They are the best Subjects in the World, but may have some reason to be weary of being the Theater of almost perpetual Wars ; and where those two mighty Crowns have fought so many Battles,

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and

and seem to have still so many more to fight, if the Neighbour-assistances fall in to balance their Powers, now so unequally matched. Therefore the Interest of the Inhabitants of those *Spanish* Provinces seems to be, either that the present Peace should be kept inviolate by the Strength and Reputation of the present Alliances; Or else, that a War when it opens should have a sudden issue; Which might be expected, either from the *French* Conquest, or a Proposition of Exchange. They are naturally averse from the *French* Government, as they are inclined to the *Spanish*; but have so little kindness for the *Hollanders*, or esteem of their Land-forces, that they hardly either hope or care to be saved by their Assistances. So as the Reputation of His Majesty's Protection and Alliance, is all that can inspire them with the hopes of a lasting Peace, or the Courage to defend themselves by a War.

FROM the Survey of all these several Interests, and Forces, and Dispositions that compose the present State of all our Neighbours, it may be naturally

turally and unquestionably concluded, That a continuance of the present measures, the opening of new ones, or an absolute Revolution of all, depends wholly upon those His Majesty shall take or pursue in this great Conjunctions, wherein he seems to be generally allowed for the sole Arbiter of the Affairs of *Christendom*.

OUR Interest abroad must lie in one of these Points.

Either to preserve our present Alliances, and thereby the Peace of *Christendom* as it now stands.

Or to encourage *France* to an Invasion of *Holland*, with assurance of our Neutrality.

Or else to join with *France* upon the Advantages they can offer us, for the Ruine of the *Dutch*.

Upon the first is to be considered, Whether with a longer Peace, the Power of *France* and *Holland*, with so great Revenues, and such Application as is seen in their Governments, will not increase every Year out of proportion to what ours will do; The Revenues of *France*, arising originally from the
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vent of their Native Commodities; and those of *Holland* growing wholly out of Trade, and that out of Peace.

Upon the second, Whether *France* will ever resolve upon the Invasion of *Holland*, or *Holland* upon its own resolute Defence, without our share in the War; which would otherwise leave us to enjoy the Trade of the World, and thereby to grow vastly both in Strength and Treasures, whilst both these Powers were breaking one another. Or whether the jealousy of such a Design in Us, would not induce *France* and *Holland*, either before a War, or soon after it begins, to close upon some Measures between them to our disadvantage, as We and *Holland* did after the last War, to the disadvantage of *France*.

Upon the last, whether by the Ruin of *Holland*, we can reap as great advantages as *France* (though perhaps greater were necessary to make some equality in our Powers.) And to gain a fair prospect of this, it must be considered, whether *Holland* upon its fall would grow an Accession to the *French* or to Us; or live under the Prince of
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Orange as a Sovereign Prince, with our support or protection. Whether *France* would be content with either of these last; or to see us grow absolute Masters of the Sea, by the fall or subjection of *Holland*, any more than by their Conjunction and Alliance. Whether we could be able to defend the Maritime Provinces, either in our own subjection, or in that of the Prince, whilst *France* remained possessor of all the Outworks of that State (which are their Inland Provinces, their Towns in *Brabant* and upon the *Rhine*;) Whether we could on the other side hinder the accession of *Holland* to *France*, either as Subjects in a Maritime Province (with great Privileges and Immunities for continuance and encouragement of Trade) or as an inferiour and dependant Ally under their protection. Whether in either of these Cases, our Government would have credit enough in *Holland* to invite their Shipping and Traders to come over and settle in *England*, and so leave those Provinces destitute of both. Whether it be possible to preserve *Flanders* after the loss of *Holland*, or upon the Conquest of those

those Countries by *France*; For us to preserve our Peace or good Intelligence with that King; Or upon a War to defend our selves, either by our own Forces, or the Alliances of our Neighbours.

But though these Arguments may deserve the most serious Deliberations of Ministers at home; yet I know they lie out of the compass of my Duty, and are improper for the Representations of a Man, the course of whose Employments and Thoughts for so long a time has lain wholly abroad.

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AN
ESSAY
UPON THE
ORIGINAL and NATURE
OF
GOVERNMENT.

Written in the YEAR 1672.

THE Nature of Man seems to be the same in all Times and Places, but varied like their Statures, Complexions, and Features, by the force and influence of the several Climates where they are born and bred; which produce in them by a different mixture of the Humours and Operation of the Air, a different and unequal Course

Course of Imaginations and Passions, and consequently of Discourses and Actions.

These Differences, incline Men to several Customs, Educations, Opinions, and Laws; which Form and Govern the several Nations of the World, where they are not interrupted by the violence of some Force from without, or some Faction within, which like a great Blow, or a great Disease, may either change or destroy the very Frame of a Body; though if it lives to recover Strength and Vigour, it commonly returns in time to its natural Constitution, or something near it.

(I speak not of those Changes and Revolutions of State, of Institutions of Government that are made by the more immediate and evident Operation of Divine Will and Providence, being the Themes of Divines, and not of Common Men; and the Subjects of our Faith, not of Reason.)

This may be the cause that the same Countries have generally in all times been used to Forms of Government much of a sort; The same Nature ever conti-

continuing under the same Climate, and making returns into its old Channel, though sometimes led out of it by persuasions, and sometimes beaten out by force.

Thus the more Northern, and more Southern Nations (Extremes as they say still agreeing) have ever lived under single and Arbitrary Dominions; as all the Regions of *Tartary* and *Muscovy* on the one side, and of *Africk* and *India* on the other. While those under the more temperate Climates, especially in *Europe*, have ever been used to more moderate Governments, running anciently much into Common-wealths, and of later Ages into Principalities bounded by Laws, which differ less in Nature than in Name.

For though the old distinctions run otherwise, there seem to be but two general kinds of Government in the World; the one exercised according to the Arbitrary commands and will of some single Person; and the other according to certain Orders or Laws introduced by agreement or custom, and not to be changed without the consent of many.

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But under each of these may fall many more particular kinds, than can be reduced to the common heads of Government received in the Schools. For those of the first sort, differ according to the Dispositions and Humours of him that Rules, and of them that Obey: as Fevers do according to the temper of the Persons, and accidents of the seasons. And those of the other sort differ according to the quality or number of the Persons upon whom is devolved the authority of making, or power of Executing Laws.

Nor will any Man that understands the State of *Poland*, and the *United Provinces*, be well able to range them under any particular Names of Government that have been yet invented.

The great Scenes of Action, and Subjects of Ancient Story, *Greece*, *Italy*, and *Scicily*, were all divided into small Common-wealths; till swallowed up and made Provinces by that mighty one of *Rome*, together with *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Germany*. These were before composed of many small Governments, among which the Cities were gene-

generally under Common-wealths, and the Countries under several Princes : who were Generals in their Wars, but in Peace lived without Armies or Guards, or any Instruments of Arbitrary Power : And were only chief of their Councils, and of those Assemblies by whose consultations, and authority, the great affairs and actions among them were resolved and enterprized.

Through all these Regions some of the smaller States, but chiefly those of the Cities, fell often under Tyrannies : Which spring naturally out of Popular Governments. While the meaner sort of the People oppressed, or ill protected by the Richer, and Greater, give themselves up to the conduct of some one Man in chief credit among them ; and submit all to his will and discretion : either running easily from one extrem to another, or contented to see those they hated and feared before, now in equal condition with themselves : Or because a multitude is incapable of framing Orders, though capable of conserving them : Or that every Man comes to find by experience, that confusion and popular tumults have worse
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effects upon common safety than the rankest Tyranny. For it is easier to please the humour, and either appease or resist the fury of one single Man than of a multitude. And taking each of them in their extreams, the rage of a Tyrant may be like that of Fire, which consumes what it reaches but by degrees, and devouring one House after another; whereas the rage of People is like that of the Sea, which once breaking bounds, overflows a Country with that suddenness and violence, as leaves no hopes either of flying or resisting, till with the change of Tides or Winds it returns of it self.

The force and variety of accidents is so great, that it will not perhaps bear reasoning, or enquiry how it comes about, that single Arbitrary dominion seems to have been natural to *Asia* and *Africk*, and the other sort to *Europe*. For though *Carthage* was indeed a Common-wealth in *Africk*, and *Macedon* a Kingdom in *Europe*; yet the first was not Native of that Soil (being a Colony of the *Tyrians*, as there were some other small ones of the *Grecians* upon the same Coasts)
and

and the King of *Macedon* governed by Laws, and the Consent as well as Councils of the Nobles. Not like the Kings of *Persia*, by Humour and Will; as appears by the event of their Quarrel, while so few Subjects conquered so many Slaves.

Yet one Reason may be, That *Sicily*, *Greece*, and *Italy*, (which were the Regions of Common-wealths) were planted thick with rich and populous Cities (occasioned by their being so far encompassed with the Sea.) And the Vein of all rich Cities ever enclines to that kind of Government. Whether it be that where many grow rich many grow to Power, and are harder to be subjected: Or where Men grow to great Possessions, they grow more intent upon Safety, and therefore desire to be governed by Laws and Magistrates of their own choice, fearing all Armed and Arbitrary Power: Or that the small compass of Cities makes the ease and convenience of Assemblies and Councils: Or that Conversation sharpens Mens Wits, and makes too many Reasoners in matters of Government.

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The contrary of all this happens in Countries thin inhabited, and especially in vast *Campania's*, such as are extended through *Asia* and *Africk*, where there are few Cities besides what grow by the Residence of the Kings or their Governours. The People are poorer, and having little to lose, have little to care for, and are less exposed to the designs of Power or Violence. The assembling of Persons deputed from People at great distances one from another, is trouble to them that are sent, and charge to them that send. And where Ambition and Avarice have made no entrance, the desire of leisure is much more natural, than of business and care: besides, Men conversing all their lives with the Woods and the Fields, and the Herds more than with one another, come to know as little as they desire; use their Senses a great deal more than their Reasons; examine not the nature or the tenure of Power and Authority; find only they are fit to obey, because they are not fit to govern. And so come to submit to the will of him they found in Power, as they do to the will of Heaven, and consider

sider all changes of Conditions that happen to them under good or bad Princes, like good or ill Seasons that happen in the Weather and the Air.

It may be said further, That in the more intemperate Climates, the Spirits either exhal'd by Heat, or compress'd by Cold, are rendred faint and sluggish; and by that reason the Men grow tamer, and fitter for servitude. That in more temperate Regions the Spirits are stronger, and more active, whereby Men become bolder in the defence or recovery of their Liberties.

But all Government is a restraint upon Liberty; And under all, the Dominion is equally absolute, where it is in the last resort.

So that when Men seem to contend for Liberty, it is indeed but for the change of those that Rule, or for the Forms of Government they have formerly been used to; and (being grown weary of the present) now begin to regret; though when they enjoyed them it was not without some pressure and complaint. Nor can it be in the other case, that when vast numbers of Men submit their Lives and Fortunes

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absolutely to the Will of one, it should be want of Heart, but must be force of Custom, or Opinion, the true ground and foundation of all Government, and that which subjects Power to Authority. *For Power arising from Strength, is always in those that are governed, who are many: But Authority arising from Opinion, is in those that govern, who are few.*

This distinction is plain in the Forms of the old *Roman State*, where Laws were made, and Resolutions taken, *Authoritate Senatûs*, and *Jussu Populi*. The Senate were Authors of all Counsels in the State; and what was by them consulted and agreed, was proposed to the People: By whom it was enacted, or commanded, because in them was the Power to make it be obeyed. But the great opinion which the People had at first of the Persons of the Senators, and afterwards of their Families (which were called *Patricians*) gained easie assent to what was thus proposed; The Authority of the Persons adding great weight to the Reason of the things. And this went so far, that though the choice of all Magistrates

gistrates was wholly in the People, yet for a long course of Years they chose none but *Patricians* into the great Offices of State, either Civil or Military. But when the People began to lose the general opinion they had of the *Patricians*, or at least so far as to believe some among themselves were as able, and fit as these, to advise the State, and lead their Armies: They then pretended to share with the Senate in the Magistracy, and bring in *Plebeians* to the Offices of chiefest Power and Dignity. And hereupon began those Seditions which so long distempered, and at length ruined that State.

Authority arises from the opinion of Wisdom, Goodness, and Valour in the Persons who possess it.

Wisdom, as that which makes Men judge what are the best Ends, and what the best Means to attain them; and gives a Man advantage among the weak and the ignorant; as sight among the blind, which is that of Counsel and Direction: This gives Authority to Age among the Younger, till these begin at certain Years to change their

opinion of the old, and of themselves. This gives it more absolute to a Pilot at Sea, whom all the Passengers suffer to steer them as he pleases.

Goodness, is that which makes Men prefer their Duty and their Promise, before their Passions, or their Interest; and is properly the object of Trust: In our Language, it goes rather by the name of Honesty; though what we call an Honest Man, the *Romans* called a Good Man: and Honesty in their Language, as well as in *French*, rather signifies a Composition of those Qualities which generally acquire Honour and esteem to those who possess them.

Valour, as it gives Awe, and promises Protection to those who want either Heart or Strength to defend themselves: This makes the Authority of Men among Women; and that of a Master-Buck in a numerous Herd, though perhaps not strong enough for any two of them; but the impression of single Fear holds when they are all together, by the ignorance of Uniting.

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Eloquence, as it passes for a mark of Wisdom; Beauty of Goodness, and Nobility of Valour (which was its Original) have likewise ever some effect upon the opinion of the People; but a very great one when they are really joyned with the Qualities they promise or resemble.

There is yet another Source from which usually springs greater Authority than from all the rest; which is the opinion of Divine Favour, or designation of the Persons, or of the Races that Govern. This made the Kings among the Heathens ever derive themselves, or their Ancestors, from some God; passing thereby for Heroes, that is, Persons issued from the mixture of Divine and Humane Race, and of a middle Nature between Gods and Men: others joined the Mitre to the Crown, and thereby the Reverence of Divine, to the Respect of Civil Power.

This made the *Caliphs* of *Persia* and *Egypt*, and the great Emperours of *Arabia*, derive themselves by several Branches from their great Prophet *Mahomet*: The *Incas* in *Peru* from the Sun: And the *Ottoman* Race to be adored

red among the *Turks*, as designed by Heaven for perpetual Empire. And the sacring of the Kings of *France* (as *Loyſel* ſays) is the ſign of their Sovereign Prieſthood, as well as Kingdom; and in the Right thereof they are capable of holding all vacant Benefices of the Church.

Piety, as it is thought a way to the Favour of G O D; and Fortune, as it looks like the Effect either of that, or at leaſt of Prudence and Courage, beget Authority. As likewise ſplendor of living in great Palaces, with numerous Attendance, much Obſervance, and Rich Habits differing from common Men: Both as it ſeems to be the Reward of thoſe Vertues already named, or the effect of Fortune; or as it is a Mark of being obeyed by many.

From all theſe Authority ariſes, but is by nothing ſo much ſtrengthened and confirmed as by Cuſtom. For no Man eaſily diſtruſts the Perſons, or diſputes the things which he and all Men that he knows of, have been always bred up to obſerve and believe; or if he does, he will hardly hope or venture to introduce Opinions wherein he knows
none

none or few of his mind, and thinks all others will defend those already received: so as no Man nor Party can offer at the change of a Government Establishd, without first gaining new Authority by the steps already traced out; and in some degree debasing the old, by appearance or impressions of contrary qualities in those who before enjoyed it. This induces a general change of opinion concerning the Person or Party like to be obeyed or followed by the greatest or strongest part of the People: according to which, the power or weakness of each is to be measured. So as in effect all Government may be esteemed to grow strong or weak as the general opinion of these qualities in those that Govern, is seen to lessen or increase.

And Power must be allowed to follow Authority in all Civil Bodies; as in Natural, the Motions of the Body follow those of the Mind; great numbers ever acting and pursuing what the few (whom they trust) begin or advise.

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FROM this Principle, and from the discovery of some natural Authority, may perhaps be deduced a truer original of all Governments among Men, than from any Contracts: tho' these be given us by the great Writers concerning Politicks and Laws. Some of them lay for their foundation, That Men are sociable Creatures, and naturally disposed to live in Numbers and Troops together. Others, that they are naturally Creatures of Prey, and in a state of War one upon another; so as to avoid confusion in the first case, and violence in the other, they found out the necessity of agreeing upon some Orders and Rules, by which every Man gives up his common Right for some particular possession, and his power to hurt and spoil others for the privilege of not being hurt or spoiled himself. And the agreement upon such Orders, by mutual contract, with the consent to execute them, by common strength and endeavours, They make to be the rise of all Civil Governments.

I know not whether they consider what it is that makes some creatures sociable,

ciable, and others live and range more alone, or in smaller Companies; but I suppose those Creatures whose natural and necessary Food is easie and plentiful, as Grass, or Plants, or Fruits (the common Product of the Earth) are the sociable Creatures, because wherever they go, they usually find what they want, and enough for them all, without industry or contention. And those live more alone, whose Food (and therefore prey) is upon other sensitive Creatures, and so not attained without pursuit and violence, and seldom in such quantities at once, as to satisfy the hunger of great numbers together. Yet this does not hold so far, but that Ravens are seen in flocks where a Carion lies, and Wolves in herds to run down a Deer. Nay, they feed quietly together while there is enough for them all: Quarrel only when it begins to fail; and when 'tis ended, they scatter to seek out new encounters. Besides, those called sociable, quarrel in hunger and in lust, as well as the others; and the Bull and the Ram appear then as much in Fury and War, as the Lyon and the Bear. So that if Mankind must
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be ranged to one of these sorts, I know not well to which it will be: and considering the great differences of customs and dispositions in several Men, and even in the same Men at several times, I very much doubt they must be divided into several forms. Nor do I know, if Men are like Sheep, why they need any Government: or if they are like Wolves, how they can suffer it. Nor have I read where the Orders of any State have been agreed on by mutual Contract among great numbers of Men, meeting together in that natural state of War, where every Man takes himself to have equal right to every thing. But often where such Orders have been invented by the Wisdom, and received by the Authority of some one Man, under the name of a Law-giver; And where this has not happened, the original of Government lies as undiscovered in story, as that of Time. All Nations appearing upon the first Records that are left us, under the Authority of Kings, or Princes, or some other Magistrates.

Besides, this principle of contract as the original of Government, seems calculated

culated for the Account given by some of the old Poets, of the Original of Man; whom they raise out of the Ground by great numbers at a time, in perfect Stature and Strength. Whereas if we deduce the several Races of Mankind in the several Parts of the World from Generation, we must imagine the first numbers of them who in any place agree upon any Civil Constitutions, to assemble not as so many single Heads, but as so many Heads of Families, whom they represent, in the framing any Compact or common Accord; and consequently, as Persons who have already an Authority over such numbers as their Families are composed of.

For if we consider a Man multiplying his Kind by the Birth of many Children, and his Cares by providing even necessary Food for them, till they are able to do it for themselves (which happens much later to the Generations of Men, and makes a much longer dependence of Children upon Parents, than we can observe among any other Creatures:) If we consider not only the Cares but the Industry he is forced to, for

for the necessary sustenance of his helpless Brood, either in gathering the natural Fruits or raising those which are purchased with labour and toil; if he be forced for supply of this Stock to catch the tamer Creatures, and hunt the wilder, sometimes to exercise his Courage in defending his little Family, and fighting with the strong and savage Beasts (that would prey upon him, as he does upon the weak and the mild;) if we suppose him disposing with discretion and order, whatever he gets, among his Children, according to each of their hunger or need, sometimes laying up for to Morrow, what was more than enough for to day; at other times pinching himself, rather than suffering any of them should want. And as each of them grows up, and able to share in the common support, teaching him both by Lesson and Example, what he is now to do as the Son of this Family, and what hereafter as the Father of another; instructing them all, what Qualities are good, and what are ill, for their Health and Life, or common Society (which will certainly comprehend whatever is generally

nerally esteemed Virtue or Vice among Men) cherishing and encouraging dispositions to the good; disfavours and punishing those to the ill. And lastly, Among the various accidents of Life, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, when the Earth affords him no relief; and having recourse to a higher and a greater Nature, whenever he finds the frailty of his own: We must needs conclude, that the Children of this Man cannot fail of being bred up with a great opinion of his Wisdom, his Goodness, his Valour, and his Piety. And if they see constant plenty in the Family, they believe well of his Fortune too.

And from all this must naturally arise a great paternal Authority, which disposes his Children (at least till the age when they grow Fathers themselves) to believe what he teaches, to follow what he advises, and obey what he commands.

Thus the Father, by a natural Right as well as Authority, becomes a Governor in this little State; and if his Life be long, and his generations many (as well as those of his Children) he grows

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the Governour or King of a Nation, and is indeed a *Pater patriæ*, as the best Kings are, and as all should be; and as those which are not, are yet content to be called. Thus the peculiar compellation of the King in *France*, is by the name of *Sire*, which in their ancient Language is nothing else but Father, and denotes the Prince to be the Father of the Nation. For a Nation properly signifies a great number of Families, derived from the same Blood, born in the same Country and living under the same Government and Civil Constitutions: As *Patria* does the Land of our Father; and so the *Dutch* by expressions of dearness, instead of our Country, say our *Father-land*. With such Nations we find in Scripture all the Lands of *Judea*, and the adjacent Territories, were planted of old. With such the many several Provinces of *Greece* and *Italy* when they began first to appear upon the Records of Ancient Story or Tradition. And with such was the main Land of *Gaul* inhabited in the time of *Cæsar*; and *Germany* in that of *Tacitus*. Such were the many Branches of the old *British* Nation; the

the *Scepts* among the *Irish*. And such the infinite variety and numbers of Nations in *Africk* and *America* upon the first discoveries, distinguished by their several Names, and living under their several Kings or Princes, till they came to be swallowed up by greater Empires.

These seem to have been the natural and original Governments of the World, springing from a tacite deference of many to the Authority of one single Person. Under Him (if the Father of the Family or Nation) the elder of his Children comes to acquire a degree of Authority among the younger by the same means the Father did among them; and to share with him in the consultation and conduct of their common Affairs. And this together with an Opinion of Wisdom from Experience, may have brought in the Authority of the Elders, so often mentioned among the *Jews*; and in general of aged Men, not only in *Sparta* and *Rome*, but all other places in some degree, both civil and barbarous. For the names of Lord, Signior, Seigneur, Sennor, in the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish*

nish Languages, seem to have at first imported only Elder Men, who thereby were grown into Authority among the several Governments and Nations, which seated themselves in those Countries upon the fall of the *Roman* Empire.

This perhaps brought in vogue that which is called the Authority of the Ancients in matters of opinion, though by a mistaken sence: For I suppose Authority may be reasonably allowed to the Opinion of Ancient Men in the present Age; but I know not why it should be so to those of Men in general that lived in ages long since past; nor why one age of the World should be wiser than another; or if it be, why it should not be rather the latter than the former; as having the same advantage of the general experience of the World, that an old Man has of the more particular experiments of Life.

THUS a Family seems to become a little Kingdom, and a Kingdom to be but a great Family.

Nor is it unlikely that this Paternal
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Jurisdiction in its successions, and with the help of accidents, may have branched out into the several Heads of Government commonly received in the Schools. For a Family Governed with order, will fall naturally to the several Trades of Husbandry, which are Tillage, Gardning and Pasturage (the product whereof was the original Riches.) For the managing of these and their increase, and the assistance of one Man, who perhaps is to feed twenty, it may be a hundred Children (since it is not easily told how far Generations may extend, with the Arbitrary choice and numbers of women, practised anciently in most Countries) the use of Servants comes to be necessary. These are gained by Victory and Captives, or by Fugitives out of some worse-governed Family, where either they cannot or like not to live, and so sell their Liberty to be assured of what is necessary to Life. Or else by the debased Nature of some of the Children who seem born to drudgery, or who are content to encrease their pains that they may lessen their cares; and upon such terms become Servants to

some of their Brothers, whom they most esteem or chuse soonest to live with.

The Family thus encreased, is still under the Father's common, though not equal care; that what is due to the Servants by Contract, or what is fit for them to enjoy, may be provided, as well as the Portions of the Children: And that whatever they acquire by their Industry or Ingenuity (beyond what the Masters expect, or exact from them by the Conditions of their servitude) should be as much their Property, as any divisions of Land or of Stock that are made to the Sons; and the possession as secure, unless forfeited by any demerit or offence against the customs of the Family, which grow with time to be the Orders of this little State.

Now the Father of a Family or Nation, that uses his Servants like Children in point of Justice and Care; and advises with his Children in what concerns the Commonweal, and thereby is willingly followed and obeyed by them all, is what I suppose the Schools mean by a Monarch. And he that by
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harshness of Nature, wilfulness of Humour, intemperance of Passions, and arbitrariness of Commands, uses his Children like Servants, is what they mean by a Tyrant. And whereas the first thought himself safe in the love and obedience of his Children, the other knowing that he is feared and hated by them, thinks he cannot be safe among his Children, but by putting Arms into the hands of such of his Servants as he thinks most at his will; which is the original of Guards. For against a Foreign Enemy, and for defence of evident Interest, all that can bear Arms in a Nation are Soldiers. Their Cause is common Safety; their Pay is Honour: And when they have purchased these, they return to their homes, and former conditions of peaceable Lives. Such were all the Armies of *Greece* and of *Rome*, in the first Ages of their States. Such were their *Gens d' ordonnance* in *France*, and the *Train-bands* in *England*: but standing Troops, and in constant Pay, are properly Servants armed, who use the Lance and the Sword, as other Servants do the Sickle, or the Bill at the

command and will of those who entertain them. And therefore Martial-Law is of all other the most absolute, and not like the Government of a Father, but a Master.

And this brings in another sort of Power, distinct from that already described, which follows Authority, and consists in the willing obedience of the People: But this in the command of Soldiers, who as Servants are bound to execute the will and Orders of those that lead them. And as Authority follows the qualities before-mentioned; so this Power follows Riches, or the opinion of it; a multitude of Servants being his that is able to maintain them. And these kind of Forces come to be used by good Princes only upon necessity of providing for their defence against great and armed Neighbours or Enemies; But by ill ones as a support of decayed Authority, or as they lose the force of that which is Natural and Paternal, and so grow to set up an interest of those that Govern, different from that of those that are Governed, which ought ever to be the same.

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Yet this seems a much weaker Principle of Government than the other; for the Number of Soldiers can never be great in Proportion to that of People, no more than the Number of those that are idle in a Country, to that of those who live by Labour or Industry: So as if the People come to unite by any strong Passion, or general Interest, or under the wise Conduct of any Authority well rooted in their Minds, they are Masters of Armies. Besides, the Humour of the People runs insensibly among the very Soldiers, so as it seems much alike to keep off by Guards, a general Infection, or an universal Sedition: For the Distemper in both kinds is contagious, and seizes upon the Defenders themselves. Besides, common Pay is a faint Principle of Courage and Action, in Comparison of Religion, Liberty, Honour, Revenge, or Necessity; which make every Soldier have the Quarrel as much at Heart as their Leaders, and seem to have spirited all the great Actions, and Revolutions of the World. And lastly, without the Force of Authority, this Power of Soldiers grows pernicious to their

their Master who becomes their Servant; and is in danger of their mutinies, as much as any Government can be of the seditions of a People.

If the Father of our Family govern it with Prudence, Goodness, and Success; and his eldest Son appear Heir to the Vertues and worth of his Father; He succeeds in the Government by a Natural Right, and by the Strength of an Authority both derived from his Father, and acquired by his own personal qualities: but if either the eldest Son by qualities degenerate and ill, happen to lose all trust and opinion, and thereby (Authority) in the Family; or else to die before his time, and leave a Child in his room; when the Father comes to fail, then the Children fall into Councils of Election, and either prefer the eldest of the Sons then living or perhaps one later, and so remoter in Birth, according as He may have acquired Authority by those Qualities which naturally produce it, and promise the best conduct and protection to the common Affairs of the Family.

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Where the Father comes to lose his Authority, many of the elder, or wiser, or braver of the Sons increase in theirs by the same degree: and when both these arrive at a certain height, the Nature of the Government is ready for a change: and upon the Fathers death, or general defection of the Family, they succeed in his Authority, whilst the humour of the whole Body runs against the succession or election of any single Person, which they are grown weary of by so late an Example, And thus comes in what they call an *Aristocracy*. But Authority contracting it self (as it seems naturally to do till it ends in a point or single Person) this Government falls sometimes into the hands of a few, who establish it in their Families: and that is called an *Oligarchy*. If the Authority come to be lost in either of these Forms; while the Children of the Family grow into the Manners and Qualities, and perhaps into the condition and poverty of Servants; and while many of the Servants by industry and virtue, arrive at riches and esteem, then the nature of the Government inclines to a *Democracy*

mocracy or Popular State, which is nearest confusion, or *Anarchy*; and often runs into it, unless upheld or directed by the Authority of one, or of some few in the State; though perhaps without Titles or Marks of any extraordinary Office or Dignity.

Governments founded upon Contract, may have succeeded those founded upon Authority: But the first of them should rather seem to have been agreed between Princes and Subjects, than between Men of equal Rank and Power. For the Original of Subjection was, I suppose, when one Nation warring against another (for things necessary to Life, or for Women, or for extent of Land) overcame their Enemies: if they only won a Battle, and put their Enemies to flight, those they took Prisoners became their Slaves and continued so in their Generations, unless enfranchized by their Masters: But if by great slaughter or frequent Victories, they subdued the very courages of their Enemies, while great numbers of them remained alive; then the Vanquish'd Nation became subject to the

the Conquerors by Agreement, and upon certain Conditions of Safety and Protection; and perhaps equal Enjoyment of Liberties and Customs, with the common Natives under the other Government: If by such frequent Successes and Additions, a Nation extended it self over vast Tracts of Land and Numbers of People, it thereby arrived in time at the ancient Name of Kingdom, or Modern of Empire.

After such a Victory, the chiefest of the conquering Nations become Rich and Great upon the Divisions of Lands, of Spoils, and of Slaves: By all which they grow into Power, are Lords in their own Lands, and over those that inhabit them, with certain Rights or Jurisdictions, and upon certain Homages reserved to the Prince. The Custom of employing these great Persons in all great Offices and Councils, grows to pass for a Right; as all Custom does with Length and Force of time.

The Prince that Governs according to the Conditions of Subjection at first agreed upon (of which Use is the Authentick Record) and according
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to the ancient Customs, which are the original Laws (and by which the Right of succession in the Crown, as well as private Inheritance and Common Justice, is directed and established) is called a Lawful Sovereign: He that breaks and violates these ancient Constitutions (especially that of Succession) is termed an Usurper.

A Free Nation is that which has never been conquered, or thereby enter'd into any conditions of Subjection; as the *Romans* were, before they were subdued by the *Goths* and *Vandals*: and as the *Turks* seem to be at this time; who having been called from *Scythia* to assist the *Grecian* Empire against that of the *Saracens*, made themselves Masters of both.

In Countries safer from Foreign Invasions either by Seas or Rivers, by Mountains and Passes, or great Tracts of rough, barren, and uninhabited Lands, People lived generally in scattered Dwellings, or small Villages: But, where Invasion is easie, and Passage open, and bordering Nations are great and valiant; Men crowd together, and seek their safety from number better united, and

and from walls and other Fortifications, the use whereof is to make the few a match for the many, so as they may Fight or Treat on equal Terms. And this is the original of Cities; but the greatness and riches of them encrease according to the commodiousness of their situation, in fertile Countries, or upon Rivers and Havens; which surpass the greatest fertility of any Soil, in furnishing plenty of all things necessary to Life or Luxury.

When Families meet together, surround themselves by Walls, fall into Order and Laws (either invented by the wisdom of some one, or some few Men; and from the evidence of their publick utility received by all; or else introduced by experience and time) and these Cities preserve themselves in the injoyment of their Possessions, and observance of their Institutions, against all Invasions; and never are forced to submit to the will of any Conqueror, or condition of any absolute Subjection; They are called free Cities: and of such there were many of old, and *Greece* and *Sicily*, deducing their original

ginal from some one Founder or Law-giver : And are many now in *Germany* subject to no Laws but their own, and those of the Empire, which is an Union of many Sovereign Powers, by whose general Consent in their Diets all its Constitutions are framed and established.

Commonwealths were nothing more in their Original, but free Cities, though sometimes by Force of Orders and Discipline, or of a numerous and valiant People, they have extended themselves into mighty Dominions : And often by Situation and Trade, grow to vast Riches, and thereby to great Power by Force of Mercenary Arms. And these seem to be the more Artificial, as those of a single Person the more Natural Governments ; being forced to supply the Want of Authority by wise Inventions, Orders and Institutions.

For Authority can never be so great in many as in one, because the Opinion of those Qualities which acquire it, cannot be equal in several Persons.

These Governments seem to be introduced either by the Wisdom and Moderation

deration of some one Law-giver, who has Authority enough with the People to be followed and observed in all his Orders and Advices; and yet prefers that which he esteems publick utility, before any interest or greatness of his own (such were *Lycurgus* in *Sparta*, and *Solon* in *Athens*, and *Timoleon* in *Syracuse*;) Or else by the confluence of many Families out of some Countries exposed to some fierce or barbarous Invasions, into Places fortified by Nature, and secure from the fury and misery, of such Conquests. Such were *Rhodes* of old, and several small Islands upon the Coasts of *Ionia*; and such was *Venice*, founded upon the Inundation of the barbarous Nations over *Italy*: Or lastly, by the suppression and extinction of some Tyranny, which being thrown off by the violent indignation of an oppressed People, makes way for a Popular Government, or at least some form very contrary to that which they lately execrated and detested: Such were *Rome* upon the expulsion of the *Tarquins*; and the *United Provinces* upon their revolt from *Spain*. Yet are none of these

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Forms to be raised or upheld without the influence of Authority, acquired by the force of opinion of those Vertues above mentioned, which concurr'd in *Brutus* among the *Romans*, and in Prince *William* of *Orange* among those of the *Netherlands*.

I will not enter into the Arguments or comparisons of the several forms of Government that have been, or are in the World wherein that cause seems commonly the better, that has the better Advocate, or is advantaged by fresher experience, and impressions of good or evil from any of the Forms among those that judge: They have all their heights and their falls, their strong and weak sides; are capable of great perfections, and subject to great corruptions: and though the preference seem already decided in what has been said of a single Person being the original and natural Government; and that it is capable of the greatest Authority, (which is the foundation of all ease, safety, and order in the Governments of the World) yet it may perhaps be the most reasonably concluded, That those Forms are best, which have been longest

longest received and authorized in a Nation by custom and use; and into which the Humours and Manners of the People run with the most general and strongest current.

Or else, that those are the best Governments, where the best Men Govern; and that the difference is not so great in the forms of Magistracy, as in the Persons of Magistrates; which may be the sense of what was said of old, (taking wise and good Men to be meant by Philosophers) that the best Governments were those, where Kings were Philosophers, or Philosophers Kings.

THE safety and firmness of any Frame of Government, may be best judged by the Rules of *Architecture*, which teach us that the *Pyramid* is of all Figures the firmest, and least subject to be shaken or overthrown by any Concussions or Accidents from the Earth or Air: and it grows still so much the firmer, by how much broader the bottom and sharper the top.

The Ground upon which all Govern-

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ment stands, is the consent of the People, or the greatest or strongest part of them; whether this proceed from Reflections upon what is past, by the reverence of an Authority under which they and their Ancestors have for many Ages been born and bred; or from sense of what is present, by the ease, plenty, and safety they enjoy: or from Opinions of what is to come, by the fear they have from the present Government, or hopes from another. Now that Government which by any of these, or all these ways, takes in the consent of the greatest number of the People, and consequently their desires and resolutions to support it, may justly be said to have the broadest bottom, and to stand upon the largest compass of Ground: and if it terminate in the Authority of one single Person, it may likewise be said to have the narrowest top, and so to make the Figure of the firmest sort of *Pyramid*.

On the contrary, a Government which by alienating the Affections, losing the opinions, and crossing the Interests of the People, leaves out of its compass the greatest part of their consent;

sent ; may justly be said in the same degrees it thus loses ground, to narrow its bottom: and if this be done to serve the Ambition, humour the Passion, satisfy the Appetites, or advance the Power and Interests not only of one Man, but of two, or more, or many that come to share in the Government: By this means the top may be justly said to grow broader; as the bottom narrower by the other. Now by the same degrees that either of these happen, the stability of the Figure is by the same lessened and impaired; so as at certain degrees it begins to grow subject to accidents of Wind, and of Weather; and at certain others, it is sure to fall of it self, or by the least shake that happens, to the ground.

By these measures it will appear, That a Monarchy where the Prince governs by the Affections, and according to the Opinions and Interests of his People, or the bulk of them, (that is, by many degrees the greatest or strongest part of them) makes of all others the safest and firmest Government: and on the contrary, a Popular State which is not founded in the general Humours and

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Interest of the People, but only of the Persons who share in the Government, or depend upon it, is of all others the most uncertain, unstable and subject to the most frequent and easie changes.

That a Monarchy the less it takes in of the Peoples Opinions and Interests, and the more it takes in of the Passions and Interest of particular Men, (besides those of the Prince, and contrary to those of the People) the more unstable it grows, and the more endangered by every storm in the Air, or every shake of the Earth : And a Commonwealth, the more it takes in of the general Humour and bent of the People, and the more it spires up to a Head by the Authority of some one Person founded upon the Love and Esteem of the People ; the firmer it stands, and less subject to Danger or change by any concussions of Earth or of Air.

'Tis true that a *Pyramid* reversed may stand for a while upon its Point, if balanced by admirable Skill, and held up by perpetual Care, and there be a Calm in the Air about it : Nay, if the Point be very hard and strong, and the

the soil very yielding and soft; it may pierce into the Ground with time, so as to grow the firmer the longer it stands: But this last can never happen if either the Top of the Figure be weak or soft, or if the Soil be hard and rough; and at the best it is subject to be overthrown; if not by its own Weight, yet when ever any Foreign Weight shall chance to fall upon any part of it; and the first must overturn whenever there happens any unequality in the Balance, or any Negligence in the Hands that set it up; and even without either of those, whenever there arrives any Violence to shake it, either from the Winds abroad, or those in the Bowels of the Earth where it stands.

I will not pretend from this Scheme to presage, or judge of the future Events that may attend any Governments; which is the Business of those that are more concerned in them than I am, and write with other Design than that alone of discovering and clearing Truth: But I think any Man may deduce from it the Causes of the several Revolutions that we find upon Record to have happen'd in the Governments of the World.

Except such as have been brought about by the unresistible force and conquests of some Nations over others whom they very much surmounted in Strength, Courage, and Numbers: Yet the brave, long, and almost incredible Defences that have still been made by those Governments, which were rooted in the general affections, esteem, and interests of the Nation; make it seem probable that almost all the Conquests we read of have been made way for, or in some measure facilitated, if not assisted by the weakness of the conquered Government, grown from the disesteem, dissatisfaction, or indifference of the People; or from those vicious and effeminate Constitutions of Body and Mind among them, which ever grow up in the corrupt Air of a weak or loose, a vicious or a factious State: And such can never be strong in the Hearts of the People; nor consequently firm upon that which is the true bottom of all Governments in the World.

Thus the small *Athenian* State resisted with success the vast Power and Forces of the *Persians* in the time of *Miltiades*

Miltiades and *Themistocles* ; *Rome* those of the *Gauls* in the time of *Camillus* : And the vast Armies collected from *Africk*, *Spain*, and the greatest part of *Italy*, in the *Carthaginian Wars* (under the Conduct of several great Captains ; but chiefly *Fabius* and *Scipio* :) The little Principality of *Epire* was invincible by the whole power of the *Turks* in Three several Invasions under their Prince *Castriot* (commonly called *Scanderbeg* :) The Kingdom of *Leon* and *Oviedo*, by all the Wars of the *Moors* or *Saracens* for many Ages : The State of *Venice*, by those of the *Turks* : The *Switzers*, by the Power of the Emperours : And the *Hollanders* by that of *Spain* : Because in all these Wars the People were both united and spirited by the common love of their Country, their Liberty, or Religion ; Or by the more particular esteem and love of their Princes and Leaders.

In the Conquest of the *Lydians* by *Cyrus*, and the *Persians* by *Alexander* ; of the great *Asian* and *Egyptian* Kings by the *Roman State*, and of all the *Roman* Provinces by the several Northern (or, as they were usually called, Barba-
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rous) Nations ; of the *Spaniards* by the *Moors* ; the *Gauls* by the *Franks* ; and of our ancient *Britains* by the *Saxons*. It is easie and obvious to observe that the Resistances were rendered faint and weak ; either by the soft and effeminate Dispositions of the People grown up under the Easiness, or Examples of vicious or luxurious Princes, whom they neither honour nor willingly obey : Or else by the common hatred and disdain of their present Servitude, which they were content to change for any other that came in their way : Or lastly, by the Distracted Factions of a discontented Nation, who agreed in no one common Design or Defence ; nor under any Authority grounded upon the general Love or Esteem of the People.

Of Instability and Changes of Government arrived by narrowing their Bottoms, which are the consent, or concurrence of the Peoples Affections and Interests, all Stories and Ages afford continual Examples. From hence proceeded the frequent Tumults, Seditions, and Alterations in the Commonwealths of *Athens* and *Rome* ; as often as either by the

the Charms of Orators, or the Sway of Men grown to unusual Power and Riches; the Governments were engaged in Counsels or Actions contrary to the general Interests of the People. Hence the several violent Changes that have arrived in the Races or Persons of the Princes of *England, France, or Spain*: Nor has the Force hereof appeared any where more visible than in *France*, during the Reign of *Henry the Third*, and a constant Succession of Minions (as they were then called) where all was conducted by the private Passions, Humours, and Interests of a few Persons in sole Confidence with the King, contrary to those more publick, and current of the People; till he came to lose at first all Esteem, afterwards obedience, and at last his Life in the Troubles given him by the League.

That Government was in the same manner exposed to the Dominion of succeeding Favourites, during the Regency of the Queen Mother in the Minority of *Lewis the 13th*, which occasioned perpetual Commotions in that State, and changes of the Ministry; and would certainly have produced those
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in the Government too; if *Richlieu* having gained the absolute ascendant in that *Court*, had not engaged in the designs at first of a War upon the *Hugonots*, and after that was ended, upon *Spain*; In both which he fell in with the currant humour and dispositions of the People; which with the prosperous successes of both those Enterprises, helped to bear up him and the Government, against all the hatred and continual Practices of the great ones in the Kingdom.

But the two freshest Examples may be drawn from the revolutions of *England* in the Year Sixty and of *Holland* in Seventy two. In the first, The usurped powers that had either designed no Root or at least drawn none but only in the Affections and Interests of those that were engaged with the Government; thought themselves secure in the Strength of an unfoiled Army of above Sixty thousand Men, and in a Revenue proportionable, raised by the awe of their Forces, though with the mock-forms of Legal Supplies by pretended Parliaments: Yet we saw them forced to give way to the bent and cur-

current Humour of the People, in favour of their Ancient and Lawful Government; and this mighty Army of a sudden lose their Heart and their Strength, abandon what they had so long called their Cause and their Interest, and content themselves to be moulded again into the Mass of the People; and by conspiring with the general humour of the Nation, make way for the King's glorious Restauration without a drop of Blood drawn, in the end of a Quarrel the beginning and course whereof had been so fatal to the Kingdom.

For the other in *Holland*, the constitution of their Government had continued Twenty Years in the hands of their Popular Magistrates, after the exclusion or intermission of the Authority of the House of *Orange*, upon the Death of the last Prince, and Infancy of this. The chief direction of their Affairs had for Eighteen Years lain constantly in the hands of their Pensioner *de Witt*, a Minister of the greatest Authority and Sufficiency, the greatest application and industry that was ever known in their State. In the course of
his

his Ministry, He and his Party had reduced not only all the civil Charges of the Government in his Province, but in a manner all the Military Commands in the Army out of the Hands of Persons affectionate to the House of *Orange*, into those esteemed sure and fast to the Interests of their more Popular State. And all this had been attended for so long a Course of Years with the perpetual Success of their Affairs, by the Growth of their Trade, Riches and Power at home, and the Consideration of their Neighbours abroad: Yet the general Humour of kindness in the People to their old Form of Government under the Princes of *Orange*, grew up with the Age and Virtues of the young Prince, so as to raise the Prospect of some unavoidable Revolutions among them for several Years before it arrive. And we have seen it grow to that Heighth in this present Year, upon the Princes coming to the Two and Twentieth of his Age (the time assigned him by their Constitutions for his entring upon the publick Charges of their *Milice*) that though it had found them in Peace, it must have occasioned some
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violent sedition in their State: But meeting with the conjuncture of a Foreign Invasion, it broke out into so furious a rage of the People, and such general Tumults through the whole Country, as ended in the Blood of their chief Ministers: In the displacing all that were suspected to be of their Party throughout the Government; In the full restitution of the Prince's Authority, to the highest Point any of his Ancestors ever enjoyed: But withal, in such a distraction of their Councils, and their Actions, as made way for the easie successes of the *French* Invasion; for the loss of almost Five of their Provinces in Two Months time, and for the general Presages of utter ruine to their State.

A N

Dublin, July 22. 1673.

A N
E S S A Y
UPON THE
Advancement of T R A D E
I N
I R E L A N D.

*Written to the Earl of Essex, Lord
Lieutenant of that Kingdom.*

My LORD,

I Know not what it was that fell
into discourse t'other day, and
gave your Excellency the oc-
casion of desiring me to di-
gest into some Method, and upon Pa-
per, the Means and Ways I esteemed
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most proper for the advancing of Trade in *Ireland*: This I know very well, that you did it in a manner, and with Expressions too obliging to be refused, and out of a design so publick and generous, as ought not to be discouraged. I had therefore much rather obey your Lordship in this Point, how ill soever I do it, than excuse my self, tho' never so well; which were much easier than the other. For I might alledge, that neither my Birth nor my Breeding has been at all in this Country: That I have passed only one short Period of my Life here, and the greatest part thereof wholly out of Business and publick Thoughts: That I have since been Ten Years absent from it; and am now here upon no other occasion than of a short Visit to some of my Friends: Which are all Circumstances that make me a very improper Subject for such a Command. But I suppose the vein I have had of running into Speculations of this kind upon a greater Scene of Trade, and in a Country where I was more a Stranger; and the too partial Favour your Lordship has exprest to another Discourse of this nature, have
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cost me this present Service; and you have thought fit to punish me for one Folly, by engaging me to commit another; like the Confessor, that prescribed a Drunkard the Penance of being drunk again. However it is, your Lordship shall be obeyed, and therein I hope to be enough excused; which is all I pretend to upon this occasion.

Before I enter upon the Considerations of Trade, which are more general, and may be more lasting in this Kingdom, I will observe to your Lordship some particular Circumstances in the Constitution and Government, which have been hitherto, and may be long the great Discourages of Trade and Riches here; and some others in the present Conjuncture, which are absolutely mortal to it; that so you may not expect to find Remedies where indeed there is none; nor suffer Men, like busie ignorant Physicians, to apply such as are contrary to the Disease, because they cannot find such as are proper for it.

The true and natural Ground of Trade and Riches, is number of People, in proportion to the compass of

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Ground

Ground they inhabit. This makes all things necessary to life dear, and that forces Men to industry and parsimony. These Customs which grow first from necessity, come with time to be habitual in a Country. And where-ever they are so, that place must grow great in Traffick and Riches, if not disturbed by some accidents or revolutions, as of Wars, of Plagues, or Famines, by which the People come to be either scattered or destroyed.

People are multiplied in a Country by the temper of the Climate, favourable to generation, to health, and long-life. Or else by the circumstances of safety and ease under the Government, the credit whereof invites Men over to it, when they cannot be either safe or easie at home. When things are once in motion, Trade begets Trade, as Fire does Fire; and People go much, where much People are already gone. So Men run still to a Crowd where they see it in the Streets, or the Fields, though it be only to do as others do, to see or to be entertained.

The want of Trade in *Ireland* proceeds from the want of People; and this
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is not grown from any ill qualities of the Climate or Air, but chiefly from the frequent Revolutions of so many Wars and Rebellions, so great Slaughters and Calamities of Mankind as have at several Intervals of time succeeded the first Conquest of this Kingdom in *Henry* the Second's Time, untill the Year 1653. Two very great Plagues followed the two great Wars, those of Queen *Elizabeth's* Reign, and the last; which helped to drain the currant stream of Generation in the Country.

The discredit which is grown upon the Constitutions or Settlements of this Kingdom, by so frequent and unhappy Revolutions that for many Ages have invested it, has been the great discouragement to other Nations to transplant themselves hither, and prevailed further than all the Invitations which the Cheapness and Plenty of the Country has made them. So that had it not been for the numbers of the *British*, which the necessity of the late Wars at first drew over, and of such who either as Adventurers or Soldiers seated themselves here upon account of

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the satisfaction made to them in Land, the Country had by the last War and Plague been left in a manner desolate.

Besides the Subordinacy of the Government changing Hands so often, makes an unsteadiness in the pursuit of the publick Interests of the Kingdom, gives way to the Emulations of the different Factions, and draws the Favour or Countenance of the Government sometimes to one Party or Interest, sometimes to another: This makes different Motions in Mens Minds, raising Hopes and Fears, and Opinions of uncertainty in their Possessions; and thereby in the Peace of the Country.

This Subordinacy in the Government, and emulation of Parties, with the want sometimes of Authority in the Governour (by the weakness of his Credit and Support at Court) occasions the perpetual Agencies or Journeys into *England*, of all Persons that have any considerable Pretences in *Ireland*, and Money to pursue them; which end many times in long Abodes, and frequent habituating of Families there,
though

though they have no money to support them, but what is drawn out of *Ireland*. Besides, the young Gentlemen go of course for their Breeding there; some seek their Health, and others their Entertainment in a better Climate or Scene: By these means the Country loses the expence of many of the richest Persons or Families at home. and mighty sums of Money must needs go over from hence into *England*, which the great Stock of rich Native Commodities here can make the only amends for.

These Circumstances so prejudicial to the encrease of Trade and Riches in a Country, seem natural, or at least have ever been incident to the Government here; and without them, the Native Fertility of the Soil and Seas in so many rich Commodities improved by multitude of People and Industry, with the advantage of so many excellent Havens, and a Situation so commodious for all sorts of Foreign Trade, must needs have rendred this Kingdom one of the richest in *Europe*, and made a mighty encrease both of Strength and Revenue to the Crown of *England*;

whereas it has hitherto been rather esteemed and found to be our weak-side, and to have cost us more blood and treasure than 'tis worth.

Since my late arrival in *Ireland*, I have found a very unusual, but I doubt very just complaint concerning the scarcity of Money; which occasioned many airy Propositions for the remedy of it, and among the rest that of raising some, or all of the Coyns here. This was chiefly grounded upon the experience made as they say about the Duke of *Ormond's* coming first over hither in 1663, when the Plate-pieces of Eight were raised three Pence in the Piece, and a mighty plenty of Money was observed to grow in *Ireland* for a year or two after. But this seems to me a very mistaken account, and to have depended wholly upon other circumstances little taken notice of, and not at all upon the raising of the Money to which it is by some great Men attributed. For first, there was about that time a general peace and serenity, which had newly succeeded a general trouble and cloud throughout all His Majesty's Kingdoms; then after two
years

years attendance in *England*, upon the settlement of *Ireland* (there on the forge) by all persons and parties here that were considerably interested in it, the Parliament being called here, and the main settlement of *Ireland* wound up in *England*, and put into the Duke of *Ormond's* Hands to pass here into an Act; all persons came over in a shoal, either to attend their own concerns in the main, or more particularly to make their Court to the Lord Lieutenant, upon whom His Majesty had at that time in a manner wholly devolved the care and disposition of all affairs in this Kingdom. This made a sudden and mighty stop of that issue of Money which had for two years run perpetually out of *Ireland* into *England*, and kept it all at home. Nor is the very expence of the Duke of *Ormond's* own great Patrimonial Estate, with that of several other Families that came over at that time, of small consideration in the stock of this Kingdom. Besides, there was a great sum of Money in ready Coyn brought over out of *England* at the same time, towards the arrears of the Army; which are
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all Circumstances that must needs have made a mighty change in the course of ready Money here. All the Effect that I conceive was made by crying up the Pieces of eight, was to bring in much more of that Species instead of others currant here, (as indeed all the Money brought from *England* was of that sort, and complained of in Parliament to be of a worse Alloy,) and to carry away much *English* Money in exchange for Plate-pieces; by which a Trade was driven very beneficial to the Traders, but of mighty loss to the Kingdom in the intrinsic Value of their Money.

The Circumstances at this time seem to be just the reverse of what they were then: The Nation's engaged in a War the most fatal to Trade of any that could arise: The Settlement of *Ireland* shaken at the Court, and falling into new Disquisitions (whether in truth, or in common opinion, is all a case:) This draws continual Agencies and Journies of People concerned into *England*, to watch the Motions of the main Wheel there. Besides, the Lieutenants of *Ireland* since the Duke of *Ormond's* time,

time have had little in their disposition here, and only executed the Resolutions daily taken at Court in particular as well as general Affairs; which has drawn thither the attendance of all private Pretenders. The great Estates of this Kingdom have been four or five Years constantly spent in *England*. Money, in stead of coming over hither for pay of the Army, has, since the War began, been transmitted thither for pay of those Forces that were called from hence. And lastly, This War has had a more particular and mortal influence upon the Trade of this Country, than upon any other of His Majesty's Kingdoms.

For by the Act against Transportation of Cattel into *England*, The Trade of this Country which ran wholly thither before, was turned very much into Foreign Parts; but by this War the last is stopped, and the other not being opened, there is in a manner no vent for any Commodity but of Wool. This necessity has forced the Kingdom to go on still with their Foreign Trade; but that has been with such mighty Losses by the great number of *Dutch* Privateers

vateers plying about the Coasts, and the want of *Engish* Frigates to secure them, that the Stock of the Kingdom must be extreamly diminished. Yet by the continuance of the same Expence and Luxury in point of Living, Money goes over into *England* to fetch what must supply it, though little Commodities goes either there or abroad to make any considerable balance: By all which it must happen, that with another Years continuance of the War there will hardly be Money left in this Kingdom to turn the common Markets, or pay any Rents, or leave any Circulation further than the Receipts of the Customs and Quit-rents, and the Pays of the Army, which in both kinds must be the last that fail.

In such a Conjunction, the crying up of any Species of Money will but encrease the want of it in general; for while there goes not out Commodity to balance that which is brought in, and no degree of Gains by exportation will make amends for the Venture; what should Money come in for, unless it be to carry out other Money as it did before, and leave the Stock that
re-

remains equal indeed in denomination, but lower in the intrinsic value than it was before? In short, while this War lasts, and our Seas are ill guarded, all that can be done towards preserving the small remainder of Money in this Kingdom, is, First, To introduce as far as can be, a Vein of Parsimony throughout the Country in all things that are not perfectly the Native Growths and Manufactures: Then by severity and steadiness of the Government (as far as will be permitted) to keep up in some credit the present Peace and Settlement: And lastly, to force Men to a degree of Industry, by suffering none to hope that they shall be able to live by Rapine or Fraud. For in some Diseases of a Civil as well as a Natural Body, all that can be done is to fast and to rest, to watch and to prevent Accidents, to trust to Methods rather than Medicines or Remedies; and with patience to expect till the Humours being spent, and the *Crisis* past, way may be made for the natural Returns of Health and of Strength.

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This being premised as peculiar either to the Government in general, or to the present conjuncture; I shall proceed to such Observations as occur concerning the ways of advancing the common and standing Trade of this Kingdom.

The Trade of a Country arises from the native growths of the Soil or Seas; the Manufactures, the commodiousness of Ports, and the store of Shipping which belong to it. The Improvement therefore of Trade in *Ireland*, must be considered in the survey of all these Particulars, the Defects, to which at present they are subject, and the Encreases they are capable of receiving either from the course of Time, the change of Customs, or the conduct and application of the Government.

The native Commodities or common easie Manufactures which make up the Exportation of this Kingdom, and consequently furnish both the Stock of Foreign Commodities consumed in the Country, and that likewise of current Money, by which all Trade is turned, are Wool, Butter, Beef, Cattel, Fish, Iron; and by the improvement of

of these, either in the quantity, the credit, or the further Manufacture, the Trade of *Ireland* seems chiefly to be advanced.

In this Survey one thing must be taken notice of as peculiar to this Country, which is, That as in the nature of its Government, so in the very improvement of its Trade and Riches, it ought to be considered not only in its own proper interest, but likewise in its relation to *England*, to which it is subordinate, and upon whose weal in the main, that of this Kingdom depends, and therefore a regard must be had of those points wherein the Trade of *Ireland* comes to interfere with any main branches of the Trade of *England*; in which cases the encouragement of such Trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and so give way to the interest of Trade in *England*, upon the health and vigour whereof, the strength, riches and glory of his Majesties Crowns seem chiefly to depend. But on the other side, some such branches of Trade ought not wholly to be suppressed, but rather so far admitted as may serve the general

ral consumption of this Kingdom, lest by too great an importation of Commodities, though out of *England* it self, the Money of this Kingdom happen to be drawn away in such a degree, as not to leave a stock sufficient for turning the Trade at home; the effect hereof would be general discontent among the People, complaints, or at least ill impressions of the Government; which in a Country composed of Three several Nations different to a great degree in Language, Customs and Religion, as well as Interests (both of property and dependances) may prove not only dangerous to this Kingdom, but to *England* it self. Since a sore in the Leg may affect the whole Body, and in time grow as difficult a cure as if it were in the Head; especially were Humours abound.

The Wool of *Ireland* seems not to be capable of any encrease, nor to suffer under any defect, the Country being generally full stockt with Sheep, cleared of Wolves, the Soil little subject to other Rots than of Hunger; and all the considerable flocks being of *English* breed, and the staple of Wool gene-

quantities in any parts besides the North nor any where into Linen to any great Degree, or of sorts fit for the better uses at home, or exportation abroad ; though of all others, this ought most to be encouraged , and was therefore chiefly designed by the Earl of *Stafford*. The Soil produces Flax kindly and well, and fine too, answerable to the care used in choice of Seed and exercise of Husbandry ; and much Land is fit for it here, which is not so for Corn. The Manufacture of it in gathering or beating, is of little Toil or Application, and so the fitter for the Natives of the Country. Besides , no Women are apter to spin it well than the *Irish*, who labouring little in any kind with their Hands, have their Fingers more supple and soft than other Women of the poorer Condition among us ; and this may certainly be advanced and improved into a great Manufacture of Linen, so as to beat down the Trade both of *France* and *Holland*, and draw much of the Money which goes from *England* to those Parts upon this Occasion, into the Hands of His Majesty's Subjects of *Ireland*, without crossing
any

any Interest of Trade in *England*. For besides what has been said of Flax and Spinning, the Soil and Climate are proper for whitening, both by the Frequency of Brooks, and also of Winds in the Country.

Much Care was spent upon this Design in an Act of Parliament pass'd the last Session, and something may have been advanced by it; but the too great Rigor imposed upon the sowing of certain Quantities of Flax, has caused (and perhaps justly) a general Neglect in the Execution; and common guilt has made the Penalties impracticable; so as the main effect has been spoiled by too much Diligence, and the Child killed with Kindness. For the Money applied by that Act to the Encouragement of making fine Linen, and broad, (which I think is twenty Pounds every Year in each County), though the Institution was good, yet it has not reached the end, by encouraging any considerable Application that way; so that sometimes one share of that Money is paid to a single Pretender at the Sizes or Sessions; and sometimes a share is saved, for want of any Pretender at all.

This Trade may be advanced by some Amendments to the last Act in another Session, whereby the necessity of sowing Flax may be so limited, as to be made easily practicable, and so may be forced by the Severity of levying the Penalties enacted. And for the Money allotted in the Counties no Person ought to carry the first, second, or third Price, without producing two Pieces of Linen of each sort (whereas one only now is necessary). And severe Defences may be made against Weaving any Linen under a certain breadth, such as may be of better use to the poorest People, and in the coarsest Linen, than the narrow *Irish* Cloth; and may bear some Price abroad, when ever more comes to be made than is consumed at home. But after all these or such like Provisions, there are but two things which can make any extraordinary Advance in this Branch of Trade, and those are: First, An increase of People in the Country to such a degree as may make things necessary to Life dear, and thereby force general Industry from each Member of a Family (Women as well as Men),
and

and in as many sorts as they can well turn to, which among others may in time come to turn the Vein this way. The second is a particular Application in the Government. And this must be made either by some Governour upon his own private Account, who has a great stock that he is content to turn that way, and is invited by the Gain, or else by the Honour of bringing to pass a Work of so much publick Utility both to *England* and *Ireland* (which Circumstances I suppose concurr'd both in the Earl of *Strafford's* Design); and whenever they meet again, can have no better Copy to follow in all Particulars, than that begun at the *Naas* in his time. Or else by a considerable Sum of Money being laid aside, either out of His Majesty's present Revenue, or some future Subsidy to be granted for this Occasion : And this either to be employed in setting up of some great Linen Manufacture in some certain Place, and to be managed by some certain Hands both for making all sorts of fine Clothes, and of those for Sails too. The benefit or loss of such a Trade accruing to the

Government, until it comes to take Root in the Nation. Or else if this seem too great an Undertaking for the Humour of our Age, then such a Sum of Money to lie ready in Hands appointed by the Government, for taking off at common moderate Prizes all such Pieces of Cloth as shall be brought in by any Persons at certain times to the chief Town of each County; and all such pieces of Cloth as are fit for Sails, to be carried into the Stores of the Navy. All that are fit for the use of the Army, to be given the Soldiers (as Cloaths are) in part of their Pay: And all finer pieces to be sold, and the Money still applied to the increase or constant supply of the main Stock. The Effect hereof would be, That People finding a certain Market for this Commodity, and that of others, so uncertain as it is in this Kingdom, would turn so much of their Industry this way, as would serve to furnish a great part of that Money, which is most absolutely necessary for Payment of Taxes, Rents, or subsistence of Families.

Hide, Tallow, Butter, Beef, arise all
from

from one sort of Cattle, and are subject to the same general Defects, and capable of the same common Improvements.

The three first are certain Commodities, and yield the readiest Money of any that are turned in this Kingdom, because they never fail of a Price abroad. Beef is a Drug, finding no constant Vent abroad, and therefore yielding no rate at home: For the Consumption of the Kingdom holds no proportion with the product that is usually made of Cattle in it; so that in many parts at this time an Ox may be bought in the Country-Markets, and the Hide and Tallow sold at the next Trading-Town for near as much as it cost. The Defects of these Commodities lie either in the Age and feeding of the Cattle that are killed, or in the Manufacture, and making them up for Exportation abroad.

Until the Transportation of Cattle into *England* was forbidden by the late Act of Parliament, the quickest Trade of ready Money here, was driven by the Sale of young Bullocks, which for four or five Summer-Months of the

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Year were carried over in very great Numbers, and this made all the Breeders in the Kingdom turn their Lands and Stocks chiefly to that sort of Cattle. Few Cows were bred up for the Dairy, more than served the Consumption within: And few Oxen for Draught, which was all performed by rascally small Horses; so as the Cattle generally sold either for Slaughter within, or Exportation abroad, were of two, three, or at best four Years old, and those such as had never been either handled or wintered at hand meat, but bred wholly upon the Mountains in Summer, and upon the withered long Grass of the lower Lands in the Winter. The Effect hereof was very pernicious to this Kingdom in what concerned all these Commodities; The Hides were small, thin and lank: The Tallow much less in quantity, and of quicker consumption. Little Butter was exported abroad, and that discredited by the Housewifery of the *Irish*, in making it up; most of what was sent coming from their Hands, who alone kept up the Trade of Dairies, because the breed of their Cattel was not fit for the *English*

lish Markets. But above all, the Trade of Beef for Foreign Exportation was prejudiced and almost sunk: For the Flesh being young, and only Grass-fed (and that on a sudden by the Sweetness of the Summers Pasture, after the Cattle being almost starved in the Winter) was thin, light and moist, and not of a Substance to endure the Salt, or be preserved by it, for long Voyages, or a slow Consumption. Besides, either the Unskilfulness, or Carelesness, or Knavery of the Traders, added much to the undervalue and discredit of these Commodities abroad; for the Hides were often made up very dirty, which increased the Weight, by which that Commodity is sold when it comes in quantities abroad. The Butter would be better on the top and bottom of the Barrel, than in the middle, which would be sometimes filled up, or mingled with Tallow; nay, sometimes with Stones. The Beef would be so ill chosen, or so ill cured, as to stink many times before it came so far as *Holland*, or at least not prove a Commodity that would defray the first charge of the Merchant before it was shipped,

shipt. Nay I have known Merchants there fain to throw away great Quantities, after having lain long in their Hands without any Market at all.

After the Act in *England* had wholly stopt the Transportation of Cattle, the Trade of this Kingdom was forced to find out a new Channel; a great deal of Land was turned to Sheep, because Wooll gave ready Money for the *English* Markets, and by stealth for those Abroad. The Breeders of *English* Cattle turn'd much to Dairy, or else by keeping their Cattle to six and seven Years old, and wintering them dry, made them fit for the Beef-trade abroad; and some of the Merchants fell into care and Exactness in Barrelling them up; and hereby the Improvements of this Trade were grown so sensible in the course of a few Years, that in the Year 1669, some Merchants in *Holland* assured me, that they had received Parcels of Beef out of *Ireland* which sold current, and very near the *English*; and of Butter which sold beyond it; and that they had observed it spent as if it came from the richer Soil of the two. 'Tis most evident, that if the *Dutch*
War

War had not broken out so soon after the Improvements of all these Trades (forced at first by Necessity, and growing afterwards habitual by use), a few Years would have very much advanced the Trade and Riches of this Kingdom, and made it a great Gainer, instead of losing by the Act against Transportation of their Cattle: But the War gave a sudden Damp to this and all other Trade, which is sunk to nothing by the continuance of it.

However, having marked the Defects that were even in time of Peace, it may not be useless to set down the Remedies though little practicable while the War lasts. For that great one of killing Cattle young, and only Grass-fed, I know none so effectual as introducing a general Custom of using Oxen for all sorts of Draught, which would be perhaps the greatest Improvement that could be made in many kinds throughout the Kingdom. By this means the great Slaughter would be made of full-grown, large and well-wintered Cattle, which would double the Income made by Hide, Tallow and Beef, and raise their Credit in all foreign Markets ;

kets, every Man would be forced to provide Winter-Fodder for his Team (whereas common Garrans shift upon Grass the Year round); and this would force Men to the enclosing of Grounds, and improving Bog into Meadows; the Race of Garrans would decrease, and so make room for the Countries maintaining the greater Number of Cattle, which makes a foreign Commodity, though they die by accident or Age; whereas the other makes none at all.

No great or useful thing is to be atchieved, without Difficulties; and therefore what may be raised against this Proposal, ought not to discourage the attempting it. First, the Statutes against that barbarous custom of Plowing by the Tail, ought to be renewed, and upon absolute Forfeitures instead of Penalties; the constant and easie compositions whereof, have proved rather an allowing than forbidding it. Now if this were wholly disused, the Harness for Horses being dearer than for Oxen, the *Irish* would turn their Draught to the last, where-ever they have hitherto used the Plowing by the Tail,

Tail. Next, a Standard might be made, under which no Horse should be used for Draught ; this would not only enlarge the breed of Horses, but make way for the use of Oxen, because they would be cheaper kept than large good Horses, which could not be wintered like Garrans, without housing or fodder. And lastly, a Tax might be laid upon every Horse of Draught throughout the Kingdom ; which besides the main use here intended, would increase the King's Revenue, by one of the easiest ways that is any where in use.

For the Miscarriages mentioned in the making up of those several Commodities for Foreign Markets, they must likewise be remedied by severe Laws, or else the Improvements of the Commodities themselves will not serve to bring them in Credit, upon which all Trade turns. First the Ports out of which such Commodities shall be shipt, may by restrained to a certain Number, such as lie most convenient for the Vent of the Inland Provinces, and such as either are already, or are capable of being made regular Corporations. Whatever of them shall be carried

carried out of any other Port, shall be penal both to the Merchant that delivers, and to the Master that receives them. In the Ports allowed shall be published Rules agreed on by the skilfullest Merchants in those Wares, to be observed in the making up of all such as are intended for foreign Transportation, and declaring that what is not found agreeable to those Rules, shall not be suffered to go out. Two Officers may be appointed to be chosen every three Years, by the Body of the Corporation, whose Business shall be to inspect all Barrels of Beef, Tallow, Butter, and all Packs of Hides, and put to them the Seal, or Mark of the Corporation, without which none shall be suffer'd to go abroad; Nor shall this Mark be affixed to any Parcels by those Officers, but such as they have viewed, and found agreeable to the Rules set forth for that purpose. Whereof one ought to be certain, That every Barrel be of the same constant Weight, or something over. If this were observed for a small course of time, under any certain Marks, the Credit of them both as to Quality and Weight, would

would rise to that Degree, that the Barrels or Packs would go off in the Markets they used abroad, upon sight of the Mark, like Silver-plate upon sight of the City's Mark where 'tis made.

The great Difficulty will lie in the good Execution of the Offices : but the Interest of such Corporations lying so deep in the Credit of their Mark, will make Emulation among them, every one vying to raise their own as high as they can ; and this will make them careful in the choice of Men, fit for that turn. Besides, the Offices ought to be made beneficial to a good Degree, by a certain Fee upon every Seal ; and yet the Office to be forfeited upon every Miscarriage of the Officer, which shall be judged so by the chief Magistrates of the Town, and thereupon a new Election be made by the Body of the Corporation.

Cattle for Exportation, are Sheep, Bullocks, Horses ; and of one or other of these kinds the Country seems to be full-stockt, no ground that I hear of being untenanted : The two first seem sufficiently improved in the kinds

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as well as the Number, most of both being of the *English* breed. And though it were better for the Country, if the Number of Horses being lessened, made Room for that of encreasing Sheep, and great Cartel; yet it seems indifferent which of these two were most turn'd to, and that will be regulated by the Liberty or restraint of carrying live Cattel into *England*. When the Passage is open, Land will be turned most to great Cattel; when shut to Sheep, as it is at present; though I am not of Opinion it can last, because that Act seems to have been carried on rather by the Interests of particular Counties in *England*, than by that of the whole, which in my Opinion must be evidently a Loser by it. For first, the freight of all Cattel that were brought over, being in *English* Vessels, was so much clear gain to *England*; and this was one with another near a third, or at least a fourth Part of the Price. Then their coming over young and very cheap to the first Market, made them double the Price by one Years feeding; which was the greatest Improvement to be made of our dry Pasture-

sture-land in *England*. The Trade of
 Hides, and Tallow, or else of Leather,
 was mightily advanced in *England*;
 which will be beaten down in foreign
 Markets by *Ireland*, if they come to
 kill all their Cattle at home. The young
Irish Cattle served for the common con-
 sumption in *England*, while their own
 large old fat Cattle went into the Bar-
 rel for the foreign Trade, in which
Irish Beef had in a manner no part,
 though by the continuance of this
 restraint it will be forced upon im-
 provement, and come to share with
England in the Beef-Trade abroad.
 Grounds were turned much in *Eng-
 land* from breeding, either to feeding or
 Dairy, and this advanced the Trade of
English Butter, which will be extream-
 ly beaten down when *Ireland* turns to
 it too (and in the way of *English*
 Huswifery, as it has done a great deal
 since the restraint upon Cattle.) And
 lastly, whereas *Ireland* had before very
 little Trade but with *England*, and with
 the Money for their Cattle bought
 all the Commodities there which they
 wanted; By this restraint they are for-
 ced to seek a foreign Market; and

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where

where they sell, they will be sure to buy too; and all the foreign Merchandize which they had before from *Bristol*, *Chester*, and *London*, they will have in time from *Roan*, *Amsterdam*, *Lisbon* and the *Streights*. As for the true causes of the decay of Rents in *England*, which made the occasion of that Act, they were to be found in the want of People, in the mighty consumption of foreign Commodities among the better sort, and in a higher way of living among all, and not in this Transportation of *Irish* Cattle; which would have been complained of in former times, if it had been found a prejudice to *England*. Besides, the Rents have been far from encreasing since, and though that may be by other accidents, yet as to what concerns *Ireland*, it comes all to one, unless Wooll be forbidden as well as Cattle; for the less Cattle comes over from thence, there comes the more Wooll, which goes as far as t'other towards beating down the price of Pasturelands in *England*; and yet the Transportation of Wooll cannot be forbidden, since that would force the *Irish* wooll

Wooll, either by stealth into Foreign Markets, or else in Cloth by the advance of that Manufacture; either of which would bring a sudden decay upon the Principal Branch of the *English* Trade.

Horses in *Ireland* are a Drug, but might be improved to a Commodity, not only of greater use at home, but also fit for Exportation into other Countries. The Soil is of a sweet and plentiful Grass, which will raise a large breed; and the Hills, especially near the Sea-coasts, are hard and rough, and so fit to give them Shape and Breath, and sound Feet. The present defects in them, are breeding without choice of Stallions either in Shape or Size, and trusting so far to the gentleness of the Climate, as to winter them abroad, without ever handling Colts till they are four Years Old: This both checks the growth of the common breeds, and gives them an incurable shyness, which is the general vice of *Irish* Horses, and is hardly ever seen in *Flanders*, because the hardness of the Winters in those Parts forces the Breeders there to house and handle their Colts for at

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least

least Six Months every Year. In the Studs of Persons of Quality in *Ireland*, where care is taken, and cost is not spared, we see Horses bred of excellent shape, and vigour, and size, so as to reach great prices at home, and encourage Strangers to find the Market here; among whom I met with one this Summer that came over on that Errand, and bought about twenty Horses to carry over into the *French Army*, from Twenty to Threescore Pounds price at the first hand.

The improvement of Horses here may be made by a Standard prescribed to all Stalions, and all Horses that shall be used for draught; the main Point being to make the common Breed large, for then whether they have shape or no, they have ever some reasonable price both at home and abroad. And besides, being not to be raised without wintering, they will help to force Men into improvement of Land by a necessity of Fodder. But for encouragement of finer Breed, and in the better Hands, some other Institutions may be invented, by which emulation may be raised among the Breeders by a prospect

spect both of particular Honour and Profit to those who succeed best, and of good ordinary gains and ready vent to such as by aiming at the best, tho' they fail, yet go beyond the common sorts. To this purpose there may be set up both a Horse-Fair, and Races to be held at a certain time every Year for the space of a Week; the first in the fairest Green near the City of *Dublin*, the latter in that place designed by your Lordship in the Park for some such purpose. During this Week, the *Monday*, *Wednesday*, and *Friday*, may be the Races; the *Tuesday*, *Thursday*, and *Saturday*, the Fairs may be held. At each Race may be Two Plates given by the King, one of Thirty Pounds, and the other of Twenty, (besides the fashion) as the Prizes for the first and second Horse; the first Engraven with a Horse Crowned with a Crown; the second with a Coronet, and under it the day of the Month, and the Year. Besides these Plates, the Wagers may be as the Persons please among themselves, but the Horses must be evidenced by good Testimonies to have been bred in *Ireland*. For honour, the

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Lord

Lord Lieutenant may ever be present himself, or at least name a Deputy in his room, and two Judges of the Field, who shall decide all Controversies, and with sound of the Trumpet declare the two Victors. The Masters of these two Horses may be admitted to ride from the Field, to the Castle with the Lord Lieutenant, or his Deputy, and to Dine with him that Day, and there receive all the honour of the Table. This to be done, what quality soever the Persons are of: for the lower that is, the more will be the Honour; and perhaps the more the sport: and the encouragement of breeding will by that means extend to all sorts of Men.

For the Fairs, the Lord Lieutenant may likewise be present every day in the height of them, by himself or Deputy, and may with the advice of the two chief Officers of the Army then present, choose out one of the best Horses, and two of the best Geldings that appear in the Fair, not under four, not above seven years old. For which shall be paid to the owners of them, after sufficient Testimony of their being

ing bred in *Ireland*, One hundred pounds for the Horse, and fifty pounds a piece for the Geldings. These Sums, as that for the Plates, to issue out of the Revenue of *Ireland*, and without trouble or fee; and the three Horses to be sent over every year to the King's Stables. Both those that won the Plate, and those which are thus sold, ought immediately to be marked, so as they may never return a second time, either to the Race, or to the Sale.

The benefit by such an Institution as this, will be very great and various: For besides the encouragement to breed the best Horses, from the honour and gain already mentioned, there will be a sort of publick entertainment for one whole Week, during which the Lord Lieutenant, the Lord Mayor of the City, and the great Officers both Civil and Military, ought to keep open Tables for all strangers. This will draw a confluence of People from all parts of the Country. Many perhaps from the nearer Parts of *England* may come, not only as to a publick kind of solemnity, but as to a great Mart of the best Horses. This

will enrich the City by the expence of such a concourse, and the Country by the sale of many Horses into *England*, and in time (or from thence) into foreign Parts. This will make general Acquaintances among the Gentry of the Kingdom, and bring the Lord Lieutenant to be more personally known, and more honoured by his appearing in more greatness, and with more solemnity than usual upon these Occasions. And all this with expence only of Two hundred and fifty Pounds a year to the Crown, for which the King shall have three the best Horses sold that year in *Ireland*.

The Fishing of *Ireland* might prove a Mine under Water, as rich as any under Ground, if it were improved to those vast advantages it is capable of, and that we see it raised to in other Countries. But this is impossible under so great a want of People, and cheapness of all things necessary to Life throughout the Country, which are in all Places invincible Enemies of industry and improvements. While these continue, I know no way of advancing

cing this Trade to any considerable degree, unless it be the erecting four Companies of Fishery, one of each Province of *Ireland*, into which every Man that enters, shall bring a certain Capital, and receive a proportionable share of the gain or loss, and have a proportional Voice in the Election of a President and Council, by whom the whole business in each Province shall be managed. If into each of these Companies the King or Lord Lieutenant would enter for a considerable share at the first, towards building such a number of Boats and Busses as each Company could easily manage, it would be an encouragement both of honour and advantage. Certain Privileges likewise, or Immunities, might be granted from charges of trouble or expence, nay from Taxes, and all unusual Payments to the Publick, in favour of such as brought in a proportion to a certain heighth into the Stock of the Fishery. Nay, it seems a Matter of so great importance to His Majesties Crowns, both as to the improving the Riches of this Kingdom, and imparing the mighty Gains of his Neighbours
by

by this Trade, that perhaps there were no hurt if an Act were made, by which none should be capable of being either chosen into a Parliament, or the Commission of the Peace, who had not manifested his desires of advancing the publick good by entring in some certain proportion into the Stock and Companies of the Fishery; since the greatness of the one, and application of the other, seem the only present means of improving so rich and so important a Trade. It will afterwards be the business of the Companies themselves, or their directors, to fall into the best Methods and Rules for the curing and barrelling up all their Fish, and to see them so exactly observed, as may bring all those quantities of them that shall be sent abroad, or spent at home, into the highest and most general credit; which with advancing the Seasons all that can be, so as to find the first foreign Markets, will be a way to the greatest and surest Gains. In *Holland* there have been above thirty Placets or Acts of State concerning the curing, salting, and barrelling of Herrings alone, with such

seve-

severity in the Imposition and execution of Penalties, that the business is now grown to an habitual skill, and care, and honesty, so as hardly any Example is seen of failing in that Matter, or thereby impairing the general Credit of that Commodity among them, or in the Foreign Markets they use.

Iron seems to me the Manufacture that of all others ought the least to be encouraged in *Ireland*; or if it be, which requires the most restriction to certain Places and Rules. For I do not remember to have heard that there is any Oar in *Ireland*, at least I am sure the greatest part is fetched from *England*; so that all this Country affords of its own growth towards this Manufacture, is but the Wood, which has met but with two great Consumptions already in most parts of this Kingdom, and needs not this to destroy what is left. So that Iron-works ought to be confined to certain Places, where either the Woods continue vast, and make the Country savage; or where they are not at all fit for Timber, or likely to grow to it; or where there is no conveyance;

veyance for Timber to places of vent so as to quit the cost of the carriage.

Having run through the Commodities of *Ireland*, with their defects and improvements, I will only touch the other two Points mentioned at first, as the grounds likewise of Trade in a Country; those are the commodiousness of Ports, and the store of Shipping; in one of which this Kingdom as much abounds, as it fails in the other. The Haven of *Dublin* is barr'd to that degree, as very much to obstruct the Trade of the City; the clearing or opening of it were a great work, and proper either for the City, or the whole Province of *Lemster* to undertake. But whether it be feasible, or at such charges as will quit cost I will not judge, especially considering the many good Havens that are scattered upon that whole Eastern Coast of *Ireland*. Besides this, I know not what to propose upon this Head, unless it be the making of two free Ports, one in *Kerry*, and t'other upon the North-west Coast, which may thereby grow to be Magazines for the *West-India* Trade, and from thence those Commodities

dities may be dispersed unto all other Parts of *Europe*, after having paid the Customs which they ought to pay in *England*, where this must be concerted.

For the last Point, I doubt there is hardly any other Country lying upon the Sea-coast, and not wholly out of the way of Trade, which has so little Shipping of its own as *Ireland*, and which might be capable of employing more. The reason of this must be in part the scarcity of Timber proper for this built; but more the want of Merchants, and uncertainty of Trade in the Country. For preventing the further destruction of Timber, a Law may be made, forbidding any Man to cut down any Oak that is of a certain heighth, unless it be of a certain scantling, as twelve Inches diameter, or some such measure as usually makes a Tree useful Timber. And further, the severest Penalties ought to be put upon Barking any Tree that is not felled; a custom barbarous, and peculiar to this Country, and by which infinite quantities of Timber have been destroyed.

Most Traders in these Part, at least
of

of *Ireland*, are but Factors; nor do I hear of any number of Merchants in the Kingdom. The cause of this must be rather an ill opinion of security, than of gain; for those are the two baits which draw Merchants to a Place: the last intices the poorer Traders, or the young beginners, or those of passage; but without the first, the substantial and the rich will never settle in a Country. This opinion can be attained only by a course of Time, of good Conduct, and good Government, and thereby of Justice and of Peace, which lie out of the compass of this Discourse. But to make some amends for this want at present, encouragement may be given to any Merchants that shall come over and turn a certain Stock of their own here, as Naturalization upon any Terms; freedom from Customs the two first Years, and from any Offices of trouble or expence the first seven Years. I see no hurt if the King should give leave to the Merchants in eight or ten of the chief Trading-Ports of *Ireland*, to name for each Town one of their number, out of which the Lord Lieutenant should chuse two to be of the Privy-Council

Council of *Ireland*, with a certain Salary from the King to defray their attendance: This would be an honour and encouragement to so worthy a Calling, and would introduce an interest of Trade into the Council, which being now composed wholly of the Nobility or Gentry, the Civil or Military Officers; the Traders seem to be left without Patrons in the Government, and thereby without favour to the particular concerns of a chief Member in the Politick Body; and upon whose prospering the Wealth of the whole Kingdom seems chiefly to depend.

But this is enough for your Excellencies trouble, and for the discharge of my promise, and too much I doubt for the humour of our Age to bring into practice, or so much as to admit into consideration. Your Lordship I know has generous Thoughts, and turned to such Speculations as these. But that is not enough towards the raising such buildings as I have drawn you here the Lines of, unless the direction of all Affairs here were wholly in your Hands, or at least the Opinion left of other
Mens

Mens being able to contest with you those Points of publick utility, which you ought best to know, and most to be believed in, while you deserve or discharge so great a Trust as the Government of this Kingdom. For I think a Prince cannot too much consider whom to choose for such employments; but when he has chosen, cannot trust them too far, or thereby give them too much Authority; no more than end it too soon, whenever he finds it abused. In short, 'tis left only to Princes to mend the World, whose Commands, find general obedience; and Examples imitation. For all other Men, they must take it as they find it; and good Men enter into commerce with it, rather upon cautions of not being spoil'd themselves, than upon hopes of mending the World. At least, this opinion becomes Men of my level, amongst whom I have observed all set-quarrels with the Age, and pretences of reforming it by their own Models, to end commonly like the pains of a Man in a little Boat, who tugs at a Rope that's fast to a Ship; it looks as if he resolved to draw the Ship to him, but
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the truth and his meaning is, to draw himself to the Ship, where he gets in when he can, and does like the rest of the Crew when he is there. When I have such Designs, I will begin such Contentions; in the mean time the bent of my Thoughts shall be rather to mend my self, than the World, which I reckon upon leaving much what I found it. Nor should I have reason in complaining too far of an Age, which does your Lordship so much Justice, by the Honour of so great an Employment. In which as I know no Man deserves greater Successes than you do, so I am sure no Man wishes you greater than I do.

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Written

Written to the

DUKE of ORMOND,

In October, 1673.

*Upon His Graces desiring me to give
Him my opinion what was to be
done in that Conjunction.*

THERE never was any Con-
junction wherein it was more
necessary for His Majesty to
fall into a Course of wise
and steady Counsels, nor ever any
wherein it was more difficult to advise
him. To make Reflections upon what
is past, is the part of ingenious, but
irresolute Men, or else of such as in-
tend to value themselves by compa-
rison with others whose Corruptions
as Follies they condemn. But in all
Matters of Counsel, the good and
prudent

prudent part is to take things as they are (since the past cannot be recalled,) to propose Remedies for the present Evils, and Provisions against future Events.

The King finds himself engaged in the second Year of a War with the *Dutch*, and for prosecution thereof in a strict Alliance with *France*; and now in danger of being entangled in the Quarrel broken out upon this occasion between *France* and the House of *Austria*. In this State of Affairs, it is to be considered whether we can pursue our War with *Holland*, and yet preserve our Peace with *Spain*; whether we are able to maintain the War with both in conjunction with *France*; and if not, what there is left for His Majesty to do, with the best regard to His Honour and Safety.

For the first, we shall soon be out of doubt; but in the mean time 'tis very unlikely that upon the late Conjunction between *Holland* and *Spain*, the *Dutch* should have obliged themselves to make no Peace without the inclusion of their Allies; and that

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Spain

Spain should not have yielded to break with Us, in case they could not effect a Peace between Us and *Holland* ; since the *Dutch* know nothing could farther induce us to it, than the fear of a Breach with *Spain*, and so great a loss of Trade in those Dominions. The *Spaniards* have but one temptation of their own to quarrel with Us, which is an occasion of recovering *Jamaica* ; for that has ever lien at their Hearts, and 'tis to be feared their Conjunction with *Holland* has not been perfected without early Measure between them for the surprize of that Island, unless our Care has been as early in providing for its defence. And if we should lose it, I foresee little hurt we could do *Spain* in their *Indies*, guarded as they would be, and attended by the Shipping of the *Dutch*. But His Majesty will, I suppose, soon know from *Spain* what He is to trust to in this point.

To judge whether upon a Breach with *Spain* we are able to maintain the War, must be considered, the present State of the King's Treasure, the rise or fall that may happen in His constant
Revenue

Revenue by the *Spanish* War, the Hopes that may be grounded upon Supplies from *France*, the assurance or measure of those expected from the Parliament, the Credit of the Exchequer to raise present Money where-ever any of these fall short, and the Humour of the Nation towards carrying on or ending the War.

For the present State of the Treasury, the King best knows it Himself, or His Officers can best give the Account; for the Changes that may happen in his Revenue, 'tis evident they must be much for the worse the very first Year of a *Spanish* War. The main Branch of it, which is the Customs, must wither away in a very great measure, since all the Trade in a manner left us upon the *Dutch* War (that has turned to any account) has been that with *Spain* and into the *Streights*: the first upon a *Spanish* War will be wholly lost; the last can neither be secured by our own Convoys, nor by the *French* Fleets in the *Mediterranean*, from the *Dutch* Capers that will fill the *Spanish* Havens, and from those of *Biscay*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, *Corfica*, *Ma-*
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jorca, which in all Wars have been the Nests of Picaroons; so that no way seems left of beginning this War, but as the *Dutch* began theirs, by leaving of all Trade in the Nation while it lasts. But the Case is very different between them and us; for they have still a Trade left from the *North*, which running upon a sandy Coast from *Hamborough*, is secured from our Fleets; and they have driven a great Commerce by Collusion with the *Swedes*, *Danes*, *Hamburgers*, *Bremeners*, and *Flemish*, ever since the War began. Besides the Hearts of their People (which would otherwise have sunk by the loss of Trade) have been kept up by the necessity of their defence, by the last extremities which were threatned them from the War, and by the general opinion of Justice in their Cause, both from these Circumstances, and the manner of ours and of the *French* beginning the War.

This makes the States content to impose, and the People to suffer the utmost Payments; and besides, in a manner all Men of Fortunes among them have a great part of their Estates
lying

lying in the Cantores of the States or the Provinces, which would all be lost upon the Conquest of their Country, so as they will lead to the last for securing so much as is already in danger. And these are Circumstances which will not be found in our Dispositions or Constitutions.

For Supplies from *France*, it must be considered how their Money has been drained out of the Kingdom since this War began, by their Payments to Us, and to *Sweden*, to the Bishops of *Cologne* and *Munster*, and some other Princes of *Germany*; by their Armies in *Germany*, and the new conquests in *Holland*; all which returns no more into *France*, as Money did in their former Wars with *Spain*, that were made chiefly upon their Confines; for then the Pays of their Armies being made only in the Winter-quarters, which were in *France* or its Frontiers, the Money fell back again into the Circulation of their own Country; yet now their Expence must upon a *Spanish* War be increased by new Armies in *Catalonia* and *Italy*, and new Fleets in the *Mediterranean*; so that all these Circumstances with the

general decay of Trade by the War, must in few Years time leave that Kingdom poorer than it has been this Age, and where Money is not the King of *France* himself cannot have it.

For what supplies may come from the Parliament towards carrying on the War, some few days I suppose will inform us; and no Measures can be taken unless by what past in the former Session, which was not very favourable to that Design.

For the Credit of the Exchequer (at least to any measure that may supply the Course of Necessities of a War) I fear it is irrecoverably lost by the last Breach with the Bankers; for Credit is gained by Custom and Course of Time, and seldom recovers a Strain; but if broken, is never well set again. I have heard a great example given of this (by some of our Merchants) that happened upon the last King's seizing 200000 *l.* that was in the Mint about the Year 38, which had then the Credit of a Bank, and for several Years had been the Treasury of all the vast Payments transmitted from *Spain* to *Flanders*. But after this Invasion of it,
though

though the King paid back the Money within very few Months, yet the Mint has never since recovered its Credit among Foreign Merchants.

If the Business of Money should happen to go lame upon any or all of these Feet, then all that will be left to carry on the War is the Humour of the Nation: And that sometimes may go farther than any Treasures, if spirited by Hatred or Revenge, by the love of Religion or Liberty, or the necessity of Defence: But the good will of the Nation to the present War (as it was foreseen by those who gave the desperate Counsels of beginning it with the Proroguing of the Parliament, and stopping of the Exchequer; so it) has been since but too much experienced by the Successes have attended it, which will ever depend upon the Humours and Opinions of those that serve, as well as the Abilities and Conduct of those that command; and not to speak of those incurable Jealousies which have been so generally raised or infused into the People about the first Designs of this War, and so much encrease by the professions or actions, or at least the

the general Reputation of those who pass for the chief Authors of it: 'Tis at least observable, That after so long Hostility, and four Battels, yet the Nation does not seem at all to be angry though that is the first thing should be brought about, if we would have Men fight.

It is, I doubt, little to be hoped, that a Breach with *Spain* should make us any kinder to the War than we were before; since that must grow wholly upon occasion of the *French*, we having no Quarrel there of our own. And our Kindness to *France* will spirit us as little as our hatred to *Spain*, at least till their Fortunes change, and the Balance rise again on the *Spanish* side, which has risen so long and to such a height on the *French*; for by the course of Human Nature there will ever be a degree of Hatred mingled with Fear, and of Kindness with Compassion.

Upon the survey of these Provisions and Dispositions, it must be concluded necessary for His Majesty either to make a Peace, or else to turn the War directly upon such points of Honour, Justice,

Justice and Safety, as may ingage both the Parliament and Nation in the support and prosecution of the War. And to do this, He must at least offer at a Peace, and upon terms into which the humour and spirit of the Nation will run.

The Conjunction now perfected between *Holland* and *Spain* seems the happiest thing that could have arrived to His Majesty's affairs upon this Occasion: for whilst *Holland* stood alone, in case we had been forced to offer at any measures with them, *France* might upon the first jealousy have been before Us, and slipping one knot might have tyed another in three days time. But now the interests of the *Empire*, *Spain* and *Lorrain*, are woven together with those of *Holland*, it will not be a short and easie work to adjust those of *France* with the Emperor in the matters of *Alsatia*, with *Spain* in *Flanders*, or the Duke of *Lorrain* in that *Dutchy*; nor is the Conjunction between *Holland* and their Allies likely to be broken, unless by the Revolutions of War the *Dutch* come to apprehend a near and greater danger from *Spain*,
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in which case they will not fail of returning to their old measures with *France*.

The first Pace which seems necessary for His Majesty to make, is to fall into Confidence with *Spain* as far as possible he can, by assuring them he resolves upon a neutrality in the War between them and *France*; that if he comes to a peace with *Holland*, he intends it shall pass by their Mediation; and if that be effected, he will imploy his own towards the general Peace of Christendom, and particularly that between *France* and *Spain*.

The next point is to resolve upon the Conditions necessary to a Peace; The best way to this is to seek without passion where the Justice lies, and the true interests of His Majesty's Crowns, as it is generally understood by his People, of which the sence of his Parliament is the best Testimony; for their concurrence will give weight to His demands of Peace, or to the support of a War.

Between Us and *Holland* the Points of Justice must be grounded upon the infraction of Treaties, and so will reach

reach only to the business of the Flag and of *Surinam*. For the Flag, it has been agreed by three several Treaties in the same form; but the Articles still referring to former use, it remains to discuss and agree particularly what that has been, and to explain the manner and circumstances of observing it. Without this, no peace we can have will seem to be made with intentions to keep it long, while the interpretation of that Article about the Flag is a ground at pleasure for opening a War. And this point can only be gained by a separate peace between Us and *Holland*; for if the War should come to end in a general treaty, like that of *Munster*; As his Majesty's interest would be less considered in a crowd of so many others, and would hardly be suffered to obstruct a general Peace; so this Right of the Flag in particular, would be at least disfavoured, if not opposed by our Friends as well as our Enemies, that is by *France*, *Sweden*, *Denmark*, as well as *Spain* and *Holland*.

The business of *Surinam* is a trifle, and the disputes upon it arose rather from
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from an unkind and jealous humour growing between the Nations, than from any difference, or difficulty in adjusting it; so as that is not a thing will lie much in the way, being soon decided by plain Articles upon the surrender of the Place.

There are two Points more wherein the Honour and Interest of the Nation is concerned, and ought to be insisted upon, so far at least as to find a temper in them, though they can hardly be said to be points of Justice, because they are not regulated by Treaties. The first is the point of the *East-India* Trade, wherein we desire new agreements between us, upon suspicion of what may happen, rather than complain of any Breach in the old; and though our *East-India* Company never urged their desires as a just ground for a Quarrel, yet a great deal might have been gained in this point from the *Dutch*, while they depended upon our Alliance; and I suppose may be still, if we fall into it again.

The second is an acknowledgment to His Majesty for the leave of Fishing upon His Coasts; and though this may
not

not be grounded upon any Treaty, yet if it appear to have been an ancient right on our side, and custom on theirs, and not determined or extinguished by any Treaty between us, it may with Justice be insisted on; though it will pass harder with the *Dutch* than any of the rest, who will much easier be induced to buy off the pretence with a great sum of Money at one or more payments, than acknowledge it by a constant Tribute.

The last thing His Majesty can demand from *Holland*, is Money for the charges of the War. But unless the Justice or necessity of it were agreed on between us, that will have but a weak Ground. And if we expect Money, it must be to purchase what is to come, and not to pay for what is past: and it is very probable, that if His Majesty should resolve with a Peace of *Holland* to enter into a Mediation between *France* and *Spain* upon the evident points of Justice between them, and to joyn against that Crown which refuses the Peace, both *Spain* and *Holland* would be content to part with their Money upon such an agreement

ment. But the measure and manner must be left to private Treaty; and would depend upon the confidence between us.

Whatever in any of these points, or any other His Majesty should be content to release, ought to be done upon the satisfaction He should declare to have received in the advancement of the Prince of *Orange* to the Charges of his Ancestors. But for His Majesty to insist upon any further advantages to the Prince than are already devolved upon him, would not only raise invincible difficulties in our Treaty with the States, but prejudice the Princes Affairs among them in a very great measure. And the Prince I believe knows their Constitution so well, as to understand it so.

If upon good terms in these particulars a Peace can be effected with *Holland*, the honour of this Crown will certainly be provided for, and the interest of it to a higher degree than could have been gained even without the events of the War; since we should be left in Peace to enjoy the Trade of the World, while the House of *Austria*
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and *Holland* would be engaged in a long War with *France*; and whenever they grow weary, His Majesty would have the glory and advantage of mediating the Peace.

For the measures to be observed in all this with *France*; and the preserving His Majesty's Honour on that side, First, the humour of the Parliament as to this War, and the Interest of the Nation in the Trade with *Spain*, ought to be represented to them as difficulties invincible, unless *France* can furnish the charge which the War will cost beyond what can be spared out of His Majesty's constant Revenue. Then His Majesty may propose to them His design of Neutrality between them and *Spain*; which I suppose was not a Point that entred into any Agreements against *Holland*. And lastly, He may desire their consent, since he cannot prosecute the War, to make His Peace with *Holland*, upon the assurance of employing afterwards His Mediation between them and *Spain*, in which the concurrence of His Parliament will make Him able to effect a Peace, as the want of it has made Him unable to pursue the

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War

War. If *France* will not consent either to furnish us with Money sufficient to carry on the War, nor to our Neutrality with *Spain*, nor Peace with *Holland*; it would then be considered whether *France* in the like case would suffer such a Conjunction as this to escape them upon any Ties or Treaties between us: or whether indeed any Prince or State would do so. A Conjunction whereby the Honour and Interest of His Majesty's Crown may be provided for; the Trade of the Nation raised to a height it has not reached before; the passionate bent and humour of the People pleased, and their jealousies in a great measure allayed; the true Balance of Christendom maintained, all the Princes and States of it (besides *France* alone) satisfied: and in short, by which His Majesty may grow again insensibly into the Hearts of his People at home, and into the influence upon all Affairs of His Neighbours abroad.

It is a rude thing which is commonly said, that we may come off from *France* with as much Honour as we came on. But it is a true thing, that he

he has always the honour of the War, that has the advantage of it: and 'tis I doubt so of a Peace too, and that cannot fail us here, provided we make sure of *Spain* (in case we apprehend our losing of *France*) to which their Dispositions and Interests must certainly concur with ours in all Points, unless that of *Jamaica* make an exception.

All the difficulty His Majesty can meet with in this pursuit, will be some want of reputation and trust with the Government of *Spain* and *Holland*, which have been foiled of late by the breach of our former Alliances, so much (as they think) against our own interests as well as theirs; for all Treaties are grounded upon the common belief, That every State will be ever found in their own interests, among which their Honour and observance of Faith grows to be one very considerable (because while the Minds of Men are generally possess with a belief of God Almighty's concerning himself in Affairs here below, the Opinion of Justice or Injustice in a Quarrel will never fail of having mighty effect up-

on the successes of a War :) therefore our Reputation cannot any way be so far recovered with our Neighbours, as by their finding that His Majesty's Councils return into the true Interests of His Kingdoms; which will make the *Spaniards* believe our Measures may be firm with them, upon the same reason which has shaken them with *France*. Thus much is certain, that whatever means will restore, or raise the Credit of His Majesty's Government at home, will do it abroad too: For a King of *England* at the head of his Parliament and People, and in their hearts and interests, can never fail of making what Figure he pleases in the World, nor of being safe and easie at home; and may despise all the designs of factious Men, who can only make themselves considered by seeming to be in the Interest of the Nation, when the Court seems to be out of it. But in running on Councils contrary to the general humour and spirit of the People, the King indeed may make His Ministers great Subjects, but they can never make Him a great Prince.

T O

Shene, Jan. 29. 1674.

TO THE
COUNTESS
OF
ESSEX,
UPON

*Her Grief occasioned by the loss of
Her only Daughter.*

THE Honour I received by a
Letter from your Ladiship,
was too great and too sensi-
ble not to be acknowledged;
but yet I doubted whether that occasion
could bear me out in the confidence
of giving your Ladiship any further
troubles of this kind, without as
M 3 good

good an Errand as my last. This I have reckon'd upon a good while by another visit my Sister and I had designed to my Lord *Capell*. How we came to have defer'd it so long, I think we are neither of us like to tell you at this distance, though we make our selves believe it could not be help. Your Ladiship at least has had the advantage of being thereby excused some time from this trouble, which I could no longer forbear, upon the sensible Wounds that have so often of late been given your Friends here by such desperate Expressions in several of your Letters concerning your Humour, your Health, and your Life; in all which, if they are your Friends, you must allow them to be extreamly concerned. Perhaps none can be at Heart more partial than I am to whatever touches your Ladiship, nor more inclined to defend you upon this very occasion, how unjust and unkind soever you are to your self. But when you go about to throw away your Health, or your Life, so great a remainder of your own Family, and so great hopes of that into which you are enter'd, and all by a desperate

desperate melancholy, upon an accident past remedy, and to which all Mortal Race is perpetually subject: For God's sake, Madam, give me leave to tell you, That what you do is not at all agreeable either with so good a Christian, or so reasonable and so great a Person as your Ladiship appears to the World in all other Lights.

I know no duty in Religion more generally agreed on, nor more justly required by God Almighty, than a perfect submission to his Will in all things; nor do I think any disposition of Mind can either please him more, or become us better, than that of being satisfied with all he gives, and contented with all he takes away. None I am sure can be of more Honour to God, nor of more ease to our selves: for if we consider him as our Maker, we cannot contend with him; if as our Father, we ought not to distrust him; So that we may be confident, whatever He does is intended for our good, and whatever happens that we interpret otherwise, yet we can get nothing by repining, nor save any thing by resisting.

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But if it were fit for us to reason with God Almighty, and your Ladyships Loss be acknowledged as great as it could have been to any one alive; Yet I doubt, you would have but ill grace to complain at the rate you have done, or rather as you do: for the first motions or Passions, how violent soever may be pardoned; and it is only the course of them which makes them inexcusable. In this World, Madam, there is nothing perfectly good, and whatever is called so, is but either comparatively with other things of its kind, or else with the evil that is mingled in its composition; so he is a good Man that is better than Men commonly are, or in whom the good Qualities are more than the bad: so in the course of Life, his condition is esteemed good, which is better than that of most other Men, or wherein the good Circumstances are more than the ill. By this measure, I doubt, Madam, your complaints ought to be turned into acknowledgments, and your Friends would have cause to rejoyce rather than condole with you: For the Goods or Blessings of Life are usually esteemed to be Birth, Health,

Health, Beauty, Friends, Children, Honour, Riches. Now when your Ladiship has fairly considered how God Almighty has dealt with you in what he has given you of all these, you may be left to judge your self how you have dealt with him in your complaints for what he has taken away. But if you look about you, and consider other Lives as well as your own, and what your Lot is in comparison with those that have been drawn in the circle of your knowledge; If you think how few are born with Honour, how many die without Name or Children, how little Beauty we see, how few Friends we hear of, how many Diseases, and how much Poverty there is in the World, you will fall down upon your Knees, and instead of repining at one Affliction, will admire so many Blessings as you have received at the hand of God.

To put your Ladiship in mind of what you are, and the advantages you have in all these Points, would look like a design to flatter you: But this I may say, That we will pity you as much as you please, if you will tell us who
they

they are that you think upon all Circumstances you have reason to envy. Now if I had a Master that gave me all I could ask, but thought fit to take one thing from me again, either because I used it ill, or gave my self so much over to it, as to neglect what I owed either to him or the rest of the World; Or perhaps because he would shew his Power, and put me in mind from whom I held all the rest; would you think I had much reason to complain of hard usage, and never to remember any more what was left me, never to forget what was taken away?

'Tis true you have lost a Child, and therein all that could be lost in a Child of that Age; but you have kept one Child, and are likely to do so long; you have the assurance of another, and the hopes of many more. You have kept a Husband great in employment, and in fortune, and (which is more) in the esteem of good Men. You have kept your Beauty and your Health, unless you have destroyed them your self, or discouraged them to stay with you by using them ill. You have Friends that are as kind to you as
you

you can wish or as you can give them leave to be by their fears of losing you, and being thereby so much the unhappier, the kinder they are to you. But you have Honour and Esteem from all that know you; or if ever it fails in any degree, 'tis only upon that point of your seeming to be fallen out with God and the whole World, and neither to care for your self, or any thing else, after what you have lost.

You will say perhaps *that* one thing was all to you, and your fondness of it made you indifferent to every thing else. But this, I doubt, will be so far from justifying you, that it will prove to be your fault as well as your misfortune. God Almighty gave you all the Blessings of Life, and you set your Heart wholly upon one, and despise or undervalue all the rest: Is this His fault or yours? Nay, is it not to be very unthankful to Heaven, as well as very scornful to the rest of the World; Is it not to say, Because you have lost one thing God hath given you, you thank him for nothing he has left, and care not what he takes away? Is it not to say, Since that one thing is gone out
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of the World, there is nothing left in it which you think can deserve your kindness or esteem? A Friend makes me a Feast, and sets all before me that his care or kindness could provide; but I set my heart upon one Dish alone, and if that happen to be thrown down, I scorn all the rest; and tho' he sends for another of the same, yet I rise from the Table in a rage, and say my Friend is my Enemy, and has done me the greatest wrong in the World; Have I reason, Madam, or good grace in what I do? Or would it become me better to eat of the rest that is before me, and think no more of what had happened, and could not be remedied?

All the precepts of Christianity agree to teach and command us to moderate our passions, to temper our Affections towards all things below; to be thankful for the possession, and patient under the loss when ever he that gave it shall see fit to take away. Your extream fondness was perhaps as displeasing to God before, as now your extream affliction; and your loss may have been a punishment for your faults in the manner of enjoying what you had.

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'Tis at least pious to ascribe all the ill that befalls us to our own demerits rather than to injustice in God ; and becomes us better to adore all the Issues of his Providence in the effects, than enquire into the Causes : For submission is the only way of reasoning between a Creature and its Maker ; and contentment in his Will is the greatest duty we can pretend to, and the best remedy we can apply to all our Misfortunes.

But, Madam, tho' Religion were no party in your Case, and that for so violent and injurious a Grief you had nothing to answer to God, but only to the World and your self ; yet I very much doubt how you would be acquitted. We bring into the World with us a poor needy uncertain Life, short at the longest, and unquiet at the best ; all the imaginations of the Witty and the Wise have been perpetually busied to find out the ways how to revive it with Pleasures, or relieve it with Diversions ; how to compose it with ease, and settle it with safety. To some of these ends have been employed the Institutions of Lawgivers, the

the reasonings of Philosophers, the inventions of Poets, the pains of labouring, and the extravagances of voluptuous Men. All the World is perpetually at work about nothing else, but only that our poor Mortal Lives should pass the easier and happier for that little time we possess them, or else end the better when we lose them. Upon this occasion Riches came to be coveted, Honours to be esteemed, Friendship and Love to be pursued, and Vertues themselves to be admired in the World. Now, Madam, is it not to bid defiance to all Mankind, to condemn their universal Opinions and Designs, if instead of passing your Life as well and easily, you resolve to pass it as ill and as miserably as you can? You grow insensible to the conveniences of Riches, the delights of Honour and Praise, the charms of Kindness or Friendship, nay to the observance or applause of Vertues themselves; For who can you expect, in these excesses of Passion, will allow you to shew either Temperance or Fortitude, to be either Prudent or Just? And for your Friends, I suppose, you reckon upon losing their kindness, when

when you have sufficiently convinced them, they can never hope for any of yours, since you have none left for your self or any thing else. You declare upon all occasions, you are incapable of receiving any comfort or pleasure in any thing that is left in this World; and I assure you, Madam, none can ever love you, that can have no hopes ever to please you.

Among the several inquiries and endeavours after the happiness of Life, the sensual Men agree in pursuit of every Pleasure they can start, without regarding the pains of the chase, the weariness when it ends, or how little the quarry is worth. The busie and ambitious fall into the more lasting pursuits of Power and Riches; The speculative Men prefer Tranquility of Mind, before the different Motions of Passion and Appetite, or the common successions of Desire and Satiety, of Pleasure and Pain: but this may seem too dull a Principle for the happiness of Life, which is ever in motion: and Passions are perhaps the Stings, without which they say no Honey is made; yet I think all sorts of Men
have

have ever agreed, they ought to be our Servants, and not our Masters; to give us some agitation for entertainment or exercise, but never to throw our Reason out of its Seat. Perhaps I would not always sit still, or would be sometimes on Horse-back; but I would never ride a Horse that galls my Flesh, or shakes my Bones, or that runs away with me as he pleases, so as I can neither stop at a River or Precipice. Better no Passions at all, than have them too violent; or such alone, as instead of heightning our Pleasures, afford us nothing but vexation and pain.

In all such losses as your Ladiship's has been, there is something that common nature cannot be denied, there is a great deal that good nature may be allowed; but all excessive and outrageous Grief or Lamentation for the Dead, was accounted among the Antient Christians, to have something of Heathenish; and among the Civil Nations of Old, to have something of Barbarous; and therefore it has been the care of the first to moderate it by their Precepts, and the latter to restrain it by their Law. The longest time that
has

has been allowed to the Forms of Mourning by the Custom of any Country, and in any Relation, has been but that of a Year, in which space the Body is commonly supposed to be mouldered away to Earth, and to retain no more Figure of what it was; but this has been given only to the loss of Parents, of Husband, or Wife. On the other side, to Children under Age, nothing has been allowed; and I suppose with particular reason (the common Ground of all general Customs,) perhaps because they die in innocence, and without having tasted the miseries of Life, so as we are sure they are well when they leave us, and escape much ill would in all appearance have befallen them if they had staid longer with us. Besides a Parent may have twenty Children, and so his mourning may run through all the best of his Life, if his Losses are frequent of that kind; and our kindness to Children so young, is taken to proceed from common Opinions, or fond Imaginations, not Friendship or Esteem; and to be grounded upon Entertainment, rather than Use in the many Offices of Life:

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Nor would it pass from any Person besides your Ladyship, to say you lost a Companion and a Friend at Nine year old, though you lost one indeed, who gave the fairest hopes that could be of being both in time, and every thing else that was esteemable and good: But yet, that it selfe God only knows, considering the changes of Humour and Disposition, which are as great as those of Feature and Shape the first sixteen Years of our Lives, considering the Chances of Time, the Infection of Company, the Snares of the World, and the Passions of Youth; so that the most excellent and agreeable Creature of that tender age, and that seemed born under the happiest Stars, might by the Course of Years and Accidents, come to be the most miserable her self, and more trouble to her Friends by living long, than she could have been by dying young.

Yet after all, Madam, I think your Loss so great, and some measure of your Grief so deserved, that would all your passionate Complaints, all the Anguish of your Heart do any thing to retrieve it; could Tears water the lovely Plant,
so

so as to make it grow again after once 'tis cut down; would Sighs furnish new Breath, or could it draw Life and Spirits from the wasting of yours; I am sure your Friends would be so far from accusing your Passion, that they would encourage it as much, and share it as deep as they could. But alas! the eternal Laws of the Creation extinguish all such Hopes, forbid all such Designs: Nature gives us many Children and Friends to take them away, but takes none away to give them us again. And this makes the excesses of Grief to have been so universally condemned as a thing unnatural; because so much in vain; whereas Nature they say does nothing in vain: As a thing so unreasonable, because so contrary to our own Designs; for we all design to be well, and at ease, and by Grief we make our selves ill of imaginary Wounds, and raise our selves Troubles most properly out of the Dust, whilst our Ravings and Complaints, are but like Arrows shot up into the Air, at no Mark, and so to no purpose, but only to fall back upon our Heads, and destroy our selves, in stead of recovering or revenging our Friends

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Perhaps, Madam, you will say, this is your Design, or if not, your Desire; but I hope you are not yet so far gone, or so desperately bent: Your Ladyship knows very well, your Life is not your own, but His that lent it you to manage, and preserve the best you could, and not to throw it away, as if it came from some common Hand. It belongs in a great measure to your Country, and your Family; and therefore by all Human Laws, as well as Divine, Self-murder has ever been agreed on as the greatest Crime, and is punished here with the utmost Shame, which is all that can be inflicted upon the Dead. But is the Crime much less to kill our selves by a slow Poison, than by a sudden Wound? Now if we do it, and know we do it by a long and a continual Grief, can we think our selves innocent? What great difference is there if we break our Hearts, or consume them; if we pierce them, or bruise them; since all determines in the same Death, as all arises from the same Despair? But what if it goes not so far? 'Tis not indeed so bad as might be, but that does not excuse it from being very

ry ill: Though I do not kill my Neighbour, is it no hurt to wound him, or to spoil him of the Conveniences of Life? The greatest Crime is for a man to kill himself; is it a small one to wound himself by anguish of Heart, by grief, or despair, to ruin his Health, to shorten his Age, to deprive himself of all the Pleasures, or Eases, or Enjoyments of Life?

Next to the Mischiefs we do our selves, are those we do our Children, and our Friends, as those who deserve best of us, or at least deserve no ill. The Child you carry about you what has that done, that you should endeavour to deprive it of Life, almost as soon as you bestow it? Or if at the best you suffer it to live to be born, yet by your ill usage of your self, should so much impair the strength of its body and Health, and perhaps the very Temper of its Mind, by giving it such an infusion of Melancholy, as may serve to discolour the Objects, and disrelish the Accidents it may meet with in the common train of Life? But this is one you are not yet acquainted with; what will you say to another

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you are? Were it a small Injury to my Lord *Capel*, to deprive him of a Mother, from whose Prudence and Kindness he may justly expect the Cares of his Health and Education, the forming of his Body, and the cultivating of his Mind; the Seeds of Honour and Vertue, and thereby the true Principles of a happy Life; How has my Lord of *Essex* deserved that you should go about to lose Him a Wife he loves with so much passion, and which is more, with so much reason; so great an Honour and Support to His Family, so great a Hope to his Fortune, and Comfort to His Life? Are there so many left of your own Great Family, that you should desire in a manner wholly to reduce it by suffering the greatest and almost last Branch of it to wither away before its time? or is your Country in this Age so stored with great Persons, that you should envy it those we may justly expect from so Noble a Race?

Whilst I had any hopes your Tears would ease you, or that your Grief would consume it self by Liberty and Time, your Ladyship knows very well I never once accused it, nor ever en-
creased

creased it, like many others, by the common formal ways of asswaging it; and this I am sure is the first Office of this kind I ever went about to perform otherwise than in the most ordinary Forms. I was in hope what was so violent, could not be so long: but when I observed it to grow stronger with Age, and encrease like a Stream the further it run; when I saw it draw out to so much unhappy Consequences, and threaten no less than your Child, your Health, and your Life; I could no longer forbear this endeavour, nor end it without begging of your Ladyship for God's sake, and for your own; for your Childrens and your Friends, for your Countries and your Families, that you would no longer abandon your self to so disconsolate a Passion, but that you would at length awaken your Piety, give way to your Prudence, or at least rowse up the invincible Spirit of the *Piercies*, that never yet shrunk at any Disaster; that you would sometimes remember the great Honours and Fortunes of your Family, not always the Losses; cherish those Veins of good Humour that are

sometimes so natural to you, and fear up those of ill that would make you so unnatural to your Children, and to your self: But above all, that you would enter upon the Cares of your Health, and your Life, for your Friends sake at least, if not for your own. For my part, I know nothing could be to me so great an Honour and Satisfaction, as if your Ladiship would own me to have contributed towards this Cure; but however, none can perhaps more justly pretend to your pardon for the Attempt, since there is none, I am sure, that has always had at heart a greater Honour for your Ladiships Family, nor can have for your Person more devotion and esteem than,

Madam,

Your Ladiships most Obedient,

and most Humble Servant.

A N

Namaguen, June 18. 1677.

A N
E S S A Y
Upon the C U R E of the
G O U T
B Y
M O X A.

Written to Monsieur de Zulichem.

I Never thought it would have befallen me to be the first that should try a new Experiment, any more than to be Author of any new Invention; being little inclined to practise upon others,

others, and as little that others should practise upon me. The same warmth of Head disposes Men to both, though one be commonly esteemed an Honour, and the other a Reproach. I am sorry the first, and the worse of the two, is fallen to my share, by which all a Man can hope is to avoid Censure, and that is much harder than to gain Applause: For this may be done by one great or wise Action in an Age; but to avoid Censure a man must pass his Life without saying or doing one ill or foolish thing.

This might serve the turn, if all Men were just; but as they are, I doubt nothing will, and that 'tis the idlest Pretension in the World to live without it; the meanest Subjects censuring the Actions of the greatest Prince; the silliest Servants, of the wisest Master; and young Children, of the oldest Parents. Therefore I have not troubled my self to give any account of an Experiment I made by your perswasion, to satisfy those who imputed it to Folly, Rashness, or Impatience; but to satisfy you who proposed the thing in kindness to me, and desired the Relation

tion of it, in kindness to other men.

I confess your engaging me first in this Adventure of the *Moxa*, and desiring the Story of it from me, is like giving one the Torture, and then asking his Confession; which is hard usage to an innocent Man and a Friend. Besides, having suffered the first, I took my self to have a right of refusing the other. But I find your Authority with me is too great to be disputed in either; and the pretence of publick good is a cheat that will ever pass in the World, though so often abused by ill Men, that I wonder the good do not grow ashamed to use it any longer. Let it be as it will, you have what you asked, and cannot but say that I have done, as well as suffered, what you had a mind to engage me in. I have told you the Story with the more Circumstance, because many questioned the Disease, that they might not allow of the Cure; though the Certainty of one, and Force of the other, has been enough evidenced by two Returns since I left you at the *Hague*, which past with the same Success, the Reasonings upon this Method, which seem to confirm the Experiment,

riment, and other Remedies for the *Gout* here reflected on, are aimed at the same end for which you seemed so much to desire this Relation. The Digressions I cannot excuse otherwise, than by the confidence that no Man will read them, who has not at least as much leisure as I had when I writ them; and whosoever dislikes, or grows weary of them, may throw them away. For those about Temperance, Age, or their Effects and Periods in reference to Publick Business, they could be better addrest to none, than to you, who have past the longest Life with the most Temperance, and the best Health and Humour of any Man I know; and having run through so much great and Publick Business, have found out the Secret so little known, that there is a time to give it over.

I will pretend but to one piece of Merit in this Relation, which is to have writ it for you in *English*, being the Language I always observed to have most of your kindness among so many others of your Acquaintance. If your Partiality to that, and to me, and to your own Request, will not excuse

cuse all the Faults of this Paper, I have nothing more to say for it, and so will leave you to judge of it as you please.

AMong all the Diseases to which the Intemperance of this Age disposes it (at least in these Northern Climates), I have observed none to encrease so much within the compass of my Memory and Conversation, as the *Gout*, nor any I think of worse consequence to Mankind; because it falls generally upon Persons engaged in publick Affairs and great Employments, upon whose thoughts and Cares (if not their Motions and their Pains) the Common Good and Service of their Country so much depends. The General Officers of Armies, the Governours of Provinces, the publick Ministers in Counsels at home, and Embassies abroad (that have fallen in my way) being generally subject to it in one degree or other. I suppose the Reason of this may be, that Men seldom come into those Posts till after Forty Years old, about which time the natural Heat beginning to decay, makes
way

way for those distempers they are most inclined to by their Native Constitutions, or by their Customs and Habits of Life. Besides, Persons in those Posts are usually born of Families Noble and Rich; and so derive a Weakness of Constitution from the Ease and Luxury of their Ancestors, and the Delicacy of their own Education: Or if not, yet the Plenty of their Fortunes from those very employments, and the general Custom of living in them at much expence, engages Men in the constant use of great Tables, and in frequent Excesses of several kinds, which must end in Diseases when the vigour of Youth is past, and the force of Exercise (that served before to spend the Humour) is given over for a sedentary and unactive Life.

These I take to be the reasons of such Persons being so generally subject to such Accidents more than other Men; and they are so plain, that they must needs occur to any one that thinks. But the ill consequence of it is not so obvious, though perhaps as evident to Men that observe: and may be equally confirmed by Reasons and Examples.

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It is that the vigour of the Mind decays with that of the Body, and not only Humour and Invention, but even Judgment and Resolution, change and languish, with ill Constitution of Body, and of Health; and by this means Publick Business comes to suffer by Private Infirmities, and Kingdoms or States fall into Weaknesses and Distempers, by the Diseases or Decays of those Persons that manage them.

Within these Fifteen Years past, I have known a great Fleet disabled for two Months, and thereby lose great Occasions, by an Indisposition of the Admiral, while he was neither well enough to exercise, nor ill enough to leave the Command. I have known two Towns of the greatest consequence lost contrary to all Forms, by the Governour's falling ill in the time of the Sieges.

I have observed the Fate of *Campa-*
nia determine contrary to all appearances, by the Caution and Conduct of a General, which were attributed by those that knew him, to his Age and Infirmities, rather than his own true Qualities, acknowledged otherwise to have
been

been as great as most Men of the Age. I have seen the Counsels of a Noble Country grow bold, or timorous, according to the Fits of his good or ill Health that managed them, and the Pulse of the Government beat high or low with that of the Governour; and this unequal Conduct makes way for great Accidents in the World: Nay I have often reflected upon the Counsels and Fortunes of the greatest Monarchies rising and decaying sensibly with the Ages and Healths of the Princes and chief Officers that governed them. And I remember one great Minister that confest to me, when he fell into one of his usual Fits of the *Gout*, He was no longer able to bend his mind or thoughts to any Publick Business, nor give Audiences beyond two or three of his own Domesticks, though it were to save a Kingdom; and that this proceeded not from any violence of Pain, but from a general languishing and faintness of Spirits, which made him in those Fits think nothing worth the trouble of one careful or solicitous Thought. For the approaches or lurkings of the *Gout*, the *Spleen*, or the *Scurvy*,

Scurvy, nay the very fumes of indigestion, may indispose Men to thought and to care, as well as Diseases of danger and pain.

Thus accidents of Health grow to be accidents of State, and publick Constitutions come to depend in a great measure upon those of particular Men; which makes it perhaps seem necessary in the choice of Persons for great employments (at least such as require constant application and pains) to consider their Bodies as well as their Minds, and Ages and Health as well as their Abilities.

When I was younger than I am, and thereby a worse judge of Age, I have often said, that what great thing soever Man proposed to do in his Life, he should think of atchieving it by Fifty Years old. Now I am approaching that Age, I think it much more than I did before; and that no Man rides to an end of that Stage without feeling his journey in all Parts, whatever distinctions are made between the Mind and the Body, or between Judgment and Memory. And though I have known some few, who might per-

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haps be of use in Counsel upon great Occasions, till after Threescore and Ten; and have heard that the two late Ministers in *Spain*, Counts of *Castiglio*, and *Pignoranda*, were so till Four-score; Yet I will not answer, that the very conduct of Publick Affairs, under their Ministry has not always tasted of the Lees of their Age.

I observe in this Assembly at *Nimeguen*, from so many several Parts of *Christendom*, that of One and Twenty Ambassadors, there are but Three above Fifty Years Old; which seems an Argument, of my Opinion being in a manner general; Nor can I think the Period ill calculated, at least for a great General of Armies, or Minister of State, in times or scenes of great Action, when the care of a State or an Army ought to be as constant as the *Chymicks* Fire, to make any great Production; and if it goes out for an hour, perhaps the whole operation fails. Now I doubt whether any Man after Fifty be capable of such constant application of thought, any more than of long and violent labour or exercise, which that certainly is, and of the finest Parts.

Besides,

Besides, none that feel sensibly the decays of Age, and his Life wearing off, can Figure to himself those imaginary Charms in Riches and Praise, that Men are apt to do in the warmth of their Blood: and those are the usual Incentives towards the attempt of great dangers, and support of great trouble and pains.

To confirm this by Examples, I have heard that Cardinal *Mazarine*, about Five and Fifty, found it was time to give over: That the present Grand *Vizier*, who passes for one of the greatest Men of that Empire, or this Age, began his Ministry about Twenty eight, and the greatest I have observed, which was that of *Monsieur de Witt*, began at Three and Thirty, and lasted to Forty Eight, and could not, I believe, have gone on many Years longer at that heighth, even without that fatal end. Among other qualities which enter'd into the composition of this Minister, the great care he had of his Health, and the little of his Life, were not I think, the least considerable; since from the first he derived his great Temperance, as well as his great Boldness and Con-

stancy from the other. And if Intemperance be allowed to be the common Mother of *Gout*, or *Dropfie*, and of *Scurvy*, and most other lingering Diseases, which are those that infest the State; I think Temperance deserves the first Rank among publick Vertues, as well as those of private Men; and doubt whether any can pretend to the constant steddy exercise of Prudence, Justice, or Fortitude, without it.

Upon these Grounds whoever can propose a way of Curing, or Preventing the *Gout* (which enter'd chiefly into those Examples I have mentioned of publick Affairs, suffering by private Indispositions) would perhaps do a service to Princes and States, as well as to particular Men; which makes me the more willing to tell my Story, and talk out of my Trade, being strongly possess'd with a belief, that what I have tried, or thought, or heard upon this subject, may go a great way in preventing the growth of this Disease where it is but new, though perhaps longer Methods are necessary to deal with it when 'tis old.

From my Grandfathers death I had
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reason to apprehend the *Stone*, and from my Father's Life the *Gout*, who has been for this many Years, and still continues much afflicted with it. The first apprehension has been, I confess, with me ever the strongest, and the other hardly in my thoughts, having never deserved it by the usual Forms; Nor had I ever, I thank God, the least threat from either of them, till the last Year at the *Hague*, being then in the Seven and Fortieth Year of my Age; when about the end of *February*, one night at Supper, I felt a sudden pain in my right Foot, which from the first moment it began, encreased sensibly, and in an hours time to that degree, that though I said nothing, yet others took notice of it in my Face, and said, They were sure I was not well, and would have had me go to Bed. I confess I was in pain, and thought it was with some sprain at Tennis: I pulled off my Shooe, and with some ease that gave me, stir'd not till the Company broke up, which was about three hours after my pain began. I went away to Bed, but it raged so much all Night, that I could not sleep a wink. I en-

dured it till about Eight next Morning in hopes still of stealing some rest; but then making my complaints, and shewing my Foot, they found it very red and angry; and to relieve my extremity of pain, began to apply common Poltices to it; and by the frequent change of them I found some ease, and continued this exercise all that day, and a great part of the following night, which I past with very little rest. The morning after my Foot began to swell, and the violence of my Pain to assuage, though it left such a soreness, that I could hardly suffer the Clothes of my Bed, nor stir my Foot but as it was lifted.

By this time my illness being enquired after about the Town, was concluded to be the *Gout*; and being no longer feverish, or in any extremity of Pain, I was content to see company. Every Body that came to visit me, found something to say upon the occasion; some made a Jest of it, or a little reproach; others were serious in their Mirth, and made me Compliments as upon a happy accident and sign of long Life. The *Spaniards* askt me

me *Albricias* for telling me the news, that I might be sure 'twas the *Gout*; and in short, none of the Company was in ill humour but I, who had rather by half have had a Fever, or a worse Disease at that time, where the danger might have been greater, but the trouble and the melancholy would, I am sure, have been less.

Though I had never feared the *Gout*, yet I had always scorned it as an effect commonly of intemperance; and hated it, as that I thought made Men unfit for any thing after they were once deep engaged in it: Besides, I was prest in my Journey at that time to *Nimeguen* by His Majesty's Commands, to assist at the Treaty there. Most of the Ambassadors from the several parts of *Christendom* were upon their way: One of my *Colleagues* was already upon the Place, and I had promised immediately to follow; for by our Commission we were to be two to act in that Mediation; and to help at this pinch, I had always heard that a Fit of the *Gout* used to have six Weeks at the least for its ordinary Period. With these comforts about me, and fullen-

ness enough to use no Remedy of a hundred that were told me, Monsieur *Zulichem* came to see me (among the rest of my Friends) who, I think, never came into Company without saying something that was new, and so he did upon my occasion. For talking of my illness, and approving of my obstinacy against all the common Prescriptions; he asked me whether I had never heard the *Indian* way of Curing the *Gout* by *Moxa*? I told him no, and asked him what it was? He said it was a certain kind of Moss that grew in the *East-Indies*; that their way was, whenever any Body fell into a Fit of the *Gout*, to take a small quantity of it, and form it into a Figure broad at bottom as a Two-pence, and pointed at top; To set the bottom exactly upon the Place where the violence of the Pain was fixed; then with a small round perfumed Match (made likewise in the *Indies*) to give Fire to the top of the Moss; which burning down by degrees, came at length to the Skin, and burn it till the Moss was consumed to Ashes: That many times the first burning would remove the Pain; if not,
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it was to be renewed a second, third, and fourth time, till it went away, and till the Person found he could set his Foot boldly to the Ground and walk.

I desired him to tell me how he had come acquainted with this new Operation. He said by the Relation of several who had seen and tried it in the *Indies*, but particularly by an ingenious little Book, written of it by a *Dutch* Minister at *Batavia*, who being extreemly tormented with a Fit of the *Gout*, an old *Indian* Woman coming to see him, undertook to Cure him, and did it immediately by this *Moxa*; and after many Experiments of it there, had written this Treatise of it in *Dutch* for the use of his Country-men, and sent over a quantity of the Mofs and Matches to his Son at *Utrecht*, to be sold, if any would be perswaded to use them. That though he could not say whether experiment had been made of it here, yet the Book was worth reading; and for his part, he thought he should try it if ever he should fall into that Disease.

I desired the Book, which he promised to send me next Morning; and this

this discourse of Monsieur *Zalischens* busied my head all night. I hated the very name of the *Gout*, and thought it a reproach: and for the good sign People called it, I could not find that mended an ill thing; nor could I like any sign of living long in weakness or in pain. I deplored the loss of my Legs, and confinement to my Chamber at an Age that left me little pleasure but of walking and of Air; but the worst Circumstance of all, was the sentence past upon it of being without Cure.

I had past Twenty Years of my Life, and several Accidents of danger in my Health, without any use of Physicians; and from some Experiments of my own, as well as much reading and thought upon that subject, had reasoned my self into an opinion, that the use of them and their Methods (unless in some sudden and acute Disease) was it self a very great venture; and that their greatest Practisers practised least upon themselves, or their Friends. I had ever quarrelled with their studying Art more than Nature, and applying themselves to Methods, rather than to Remedies; whereas the knowledge of
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the last is all that Nine Parts in Ten of the World have trusted to in all Ages.

But for the common Remedies of the *Gout*, I found Exceptions to them all; the time of purging was past with me, which otherwise I should certainly have tried upon the Authority of the great *Hippocrates*, who says it should be done upon the first motion of the Humour in the *Gout*. For Poltices, I knew they allayed pain; but withal, that they drew down the Humours, and supplied the Parts, thereby making the Passages wider, and apter to receive them in greater quantity; and I had often heard it concluded, that the use of them ended in losing that of ones Limbs, by weakening the Joynt upon every Fit. For Plaisters that had any effect, I thought it must be by dispersing or repelling the Humours, which could not be done without endangering perhaps some other Disease of the Bowels, the Stomach, or the Head. Rest and warmth either of Clothes or bathings, I doubted would in a degree have the effects of Poltices; and Sweating was proper for prevention rather than Remedy. So that all I could end
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in with any satisfaction, was patience and abstinence; and though I easily resolved of the last, yet the first was hard to be found in the circumstances of my Business, as well as of my Health.

All this made me rave upon Monsieur *Zulichem's* new Operation; and for the way of curing by Fire, I found Twenty things to give me an opinion of it. I remembered what I had read of the *Egyptians* of old, who used it in most Diseases; and what I had often heard of that practise still continuing among the *Moors* of *Africk*; so that a Slave is seldom taken (as both *Spaniards* and *Portugueses* affirm) who has not many Scars of the hot-iron upon his Body, which they use upon most Distempers, but especially those of the Head, and consequently in Physick as well as in Surgery. In the time of the *Incas* reign in *Peru*, (which I take to have been one of the greatest Constitutions of Absolute Monarchy that has been in the World) no composition was allowed by the Laws to be used in point of Medicine, but only Simples proper to each Disease. Burning was much in use either by natural or artificial Fires; particu-

particularly for all illness of Teeth, and foreness or swelling of the Gums (which they were subject to from their nearness to the Sea) they had an Herb which never failed of curing it, and being laid to the Gums, burnt away all the Flesh that was swelled or corrupted, and made way for new that came again as sound as that of a Child. I remembered to have had my self in my Youth, one cruel Wound cured by scalding Medicament, after it was grown so putrefied as to have (in the Surgeons opinion) endangered the Bone; and the violent swelling and bruise of another, taken away as soon as I received it, by scalding it with Milk. I remembered the cure of Chilblanes when I was a Boy (which may be called the Childrens *Gout*) by burning at the Fire, or else by scalding Brine, that has (I suppose) the same effect. I had heard of curing the Stings of Adders, and Bites of mad-Dogs, by immediately burning the Part with a hot-iron; and of some strange cures of Frenzies, by casual applications of Fire to the lower Parts; which seems reasonable enough, by the violent revulsion it may make of humours from the

the Head ; and agrees with the opinions and practice I mentioned before, of *Egypt* and *Africa*. Perhaps blistering in the Neck, and hot Pidgeons, may be in use among us upon the same Grounds; and in our Methods of Surgery, nothing is found of such effect in the case of old Ulcers as Fire, which is certainly the greatest drawer and drier, and thereby the greatest cleanser that can be found. I knew very well, that in Diseases of Cattle, there is nothing more commonly used nor with greater success; and concluded it was but a tenderness to Mankind that made it less in use amongst us, and which had introduced Corrosives and Causticks to supply the place of it, which are indeed but artificial Fires.

I mention all these Reflections, to shew that the experiment I resolved to make, was upon thought, and not rashness or impatience (as those called it that would have dissuaded me from it;) but the chief reason, was, that I liked no other, because I knew they failed every day, and left Men in despair of being ever well cured of the Gout.

Next morning I lookt over the Book
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which Monsieur *Zulichem* had promised me, written by the Minister at *Batavia*. I pretended not to judge of the *Indian* Philosophy, or reasonings upon the cause as the *Gout*; but yet thought them as probable of those of Physicians here; and liked them so much the better, because it seems their opinion in the Point is general among them, as well as their method of curing; whereas the differences, among ours are almost as many in both as there are Physicians that reason upon the Causes, or practise upon the Cure of that Disease. They hold, that the cause of the *Gout* is a malignant Vapour that falls upon the Joynt between the Bone and the Skin that covers it, which being the most sensible of all parts of the Body, causes the violence of the Pain. That the swelling is no part of the Disease, but only an effect of it, and of a kindness in Nature, that to relieve the part affected, calls down Humours to damp the malignity of the Vapour, and thereby assuage the sharpness of the Pain; which seldom fails whenever the Part grows very much swelled. That consequently the swellings and returns of
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the *Gout*, are chiefly occasioned by the ill Methods of curing it at first. That this Vapour falling upon Joynts which have not motion, and thereby heat enough to dispel it, cannot be cured otherwise than by burning, by which it immediately evaporates; and that this is evident by the present ceasing of the pain upon the second, third, or fourth application of the *Moxa*, which are performed in a few Minutes time. And the Author affirms it happens often there, that upon the last burning, an extream stench comes out of the Skin where the Fire had opened it.

Whatever the reasonings were which yet seemed ingenious enough; the experiments alledged with so much confidence, and to be so general in those Parts, and told by an Author that writ like a plain Man, and one whose Profession was to tell truth, helped me to resolve upon making the trial. I was confirmed in this resolution by a *German* Physician, Doctor *Theodore Coledy*, who was then in my Family, a sober and intelligent Man, whom I dispatched immediately to *Utrecht*, to bring me some of the *Moxa*, and learn the exact

exact Method of using it, from the Man that sold it, who was Son to the Minister of *Batavia*. He returned with all that belonged to this Cure, having performed the whole Operation upon his Hand by the Mans direction. I immediately made the Experiment in the manner before related, setting the *Moxa* just upon the place where the first violence of my Pain began, which was the Joint of the great Toe, and where the greatest Anger and Soreness still continued, notwithstanding the swelling of my Foot, so that I had never yet in five days been able to stir it, but as it was lifted.

Upon the first Burning I found the Skin shrink all round the place; and whether the greater Pain of the Fire had taken away the sense of a smaller or no, I could not tell; but I thought it less than it was: I burnt it the second time, and upon it observed the Skin about it to shrink, and the swelling to flat yet more than at first. I began to move my Toe, which I had not done before; but I found some remainders of Pain. I burnt it the third time, and observed still the same Ef-

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fects

feet without, but a much greater within; for I stirred the Joynt several times at ease; and growing bolder, I set my Foot to the Ground without any pain at all. After this I pursued the Method prescribed by the Book, and the Author's Son at *Utrecht*, and had a bruised Clove of Garlick laid to the place that was burnt, and covered with a large Plaister of *diapalma*, to keep it fixed there; and when this was done, feeling no more pain, and treading still bolder and firmer upon it, I cut a Slipper to let in my Foot, swelled as it was, and walkt half a dozen Turns about the Room, without any pain or trouble, and much to the surprise of those that were about me, as well as to my own. For though I had reasoned my self before-hand into an opinion of the thing, yet I could not expect such an Effect as I found, which seldom reaches to the degree that is promised by the Prescribers of any Remedies, whereas this went beyond it; having been applied so late, and the Prescription reaching only to the first attack of the Pain, and before the Part begins to swell.

For

For the pain of the Burning it self, the first time it is sharp, so that a Man may be allowed to complain: I resolved I would not, but that I would count to a certain Number, as the best measure how long it lasted. I told Six-score and four, as fast as I could; and when the Fire of the *Moxa* was out, all pain of Burning was over. The second time was not near so sharp as the first, and the third a great deal less than the second. The Wound was not raw, as I expected, but looked only scorched and black; and I had rather endure the whole trouble of the Operation, than half a quarter of an hours Pain in the degree I felt it the first whole Night.

After Four and twenty Hours, I had it opened, and found a great Blister drawn by the Garlick, which I used no more, but had the Blister cut, which run a good deal of Water, but filled again by the next night; and this continued for three Days, with only a Plaster of *Diapalma* upon it; after which time the Blister dried up, and left a Sore about as big as a Two-pence, which healed and went away in about a weeks

time longer; but I continued to walk every day, and without the least return of Pain, the Swelling still growing less, though it were near six Weeks before it was wholly gone. I favoured it all this while more than I needed, upon the common Opinion, that walking too much might draw down the Humour; which I have since had reason to conclude a great mistake, and that if I had walked as much as I could from the first Day the Pain left me, the Swelling might have left me too in a much less time.

The talk of this Cure run about the *Hague*, and made the Conversation in other Places, as well as in the Visits I received while I kept my Chamber, which was about a Fortnight after the Burning. Monsieur *Zulichem* came to me among the rest of the good Company of the Town, and much pleased with my Success, as well from his own great humanity, and particular kindness to me, as from the part he had in being the first Prescriber of my Cure, and from the opinion it gave him of a common good Fortune befallen all that felt, or were in danger of the *Gout*.

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Among others he told it to, Monsieur *Serinchamps* was one, an Envoy of the Duke of *Lorraine*'s then in Town; a Person very much, and very deservedly esteemed among all the good Company in Town, and to whom every body was kind upon the score of his own good Humour, or his Masters ill Fortunes: He had been long subject to the *Gout*, and with constant returns of long and violent Fits two or three times in a year. He was a Man frank and generous, and loved to enjoy Health whilst he had it, without making too much reflection upon what was to follow; and so when he was well, denied himself nothing of what he had a mind to eat or drink; which gave him a Body full of Humours, and made his Fits of the *Gout* as frequent and violent as most I have known: When they came, he bore them as he could, and forgot them as soon as they were past, till a new remembrance. At this time he lay ill of a cruel Fit, which was fallen upon his knee, and with extream Pain: When he heard of my Cure, he sent to me first for the Relation of it, and upon it, for my *Moxa*, and for *Coleby* to

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apply

apply it. He suffer'd it; but after his pleasant way roared out, and swore at me all the while it was burning, and asked if I took him for a Sorcerer, that I sent to burn him alive? Yet with all this, the Pain went away upon it, and returned no more to the same place; but he was something discouraged by a new Pain falling some days after upon his Elbow on the other side, which gave him a new Fit, though gentler and shorter than they used to be.

About the same time one of the Maids of my House was grown almost desperate with the Tooth-ach, and want of sleep upon it, and was without Remedy. The Book gives the same Cure for certain in that illness, by burning upon the great Vein under the Ear; and the Man who sold it at *Utrecht*, had assured *Coleby* he had seen many Cures by it in that kind. We resolved to try; which was done, and the Pain immediately taken away, and the wench perfectly well, without hearing of it any more, at least while she was in my House.

Thus passed the first Experiment; upon which Monsieur *Zulichem* giving an

an Account of it to some of his Friends at *Gresham-Colledge*, came to me before I left the *Hague*, formally to desire me from them, and from himself, that I would give a Relation of it that might be made publick, as a thing which might prove in appearance of common utility to so great numbers as were subject to that Disease; and told me, that some of *Gresham-Colledge* had already given order for translating into *English* the little *Batarian* Treatise. I commended the Care of publishing it among us, and thereby inviting others to an Experiment I had reason to approve; but excused my self from any Relation of my own, as having too much business at that time, and at all times caring little to appear in publick. I had another reason to decline it, that ever use to go far with me upon all new Inventions or Experiments, which is, that the best trial of them is by time. and observing whether they live or no; and that one or two Trials can pretend to make no Rule, no more than one Swallow a Summer; and so before I told my Story to more than my Friends, I had a mind to make more

Trials my self, or see them made by other People as wise as I had been.

During the Confinement of this Fit, I fell into some methods, and into much Discourse upon the subject of the *Gout*, that may be perhaps as well worth reflection by such as feel or apprehend it, as what I have told of this *Indian Cure*. In the first place, from the day I kept my Chamber, till I left it, and began to walk abroad, I restrained my self to so regular a Diet, as to eat Flesh but once a day, and little at a time, without Salt or Vinegar; and to one moderate Draught, either of Water or Small Ale. I concluded to trust to Abstinence and Exercise, as I had ever resolved, if I fell into this Disease; and if it continued, to confine my self wholly to the Milk-diet, of which I had met with very many and great Examples, and had a great Opinion even in long and inveterate *Gouts*. Besides this refuge, I met with, in my Visits and Conversation arising upon my illness, many Notions or Medicines very new to me, and Reflections that may be so perhaps to other Men. Old Prince *Maurice of Nassau* told me, he laught
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at the *Gout*, and though he had been several times attacked, yet it never gave him care nor trouble. That he used but one Remedy, which was, whenever he felt it, to boil a good quantity of Horse-dung from a Stone-horse of the *Hermelinne* Colour, as he called it in *French*, which is a Native White, with a sort of a raw Nose, and the same commonly about the Eyes. That when this was well boiled in Water, he set his Leg in a Pail-full of it, as hot as he could well endure it, renewing it as it grew cool for above an hour together. That after it, he drew his Leg immediately into a warm Bed, to continue the Perspiration as long as he could, and never failed of being cured. Whether the Remedy be good, or the Circumstances of Colour signify any thing more, than to make more Mystery, I know not; but I observed, that he ever had a Sett of such *Hermelinne* Horses in his Coach, which he told me was on purpose that he might never want this Remedy.

The Count *Kinski*, Ambassador from the Emperor to the Treaty at *Nimeguen*, gave me a Receipt of the
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Salt of Harts-horn, by which a famous *Italian* Physician of the Emperors had performed mighty Cures upon many others as well as Himself, and the last Year upon the Count *Montecuculi*: The use of this, I am apt to esteem, both from the quality given it of provoking Sweat extreamly, and of taking away all Sharpness from whatever you put it in; which must both be of good effect in the Cure of the *Gout*.

The *Rhyngrave*, who was killed last Summer before *Maeſtricht*, told me his Father the old *Rhyngrave*, whom I knew very well, had been long subject to the *Gout*, and never used other Method or Remedy, than upon the very first Fit he felt, to go out immediately and walk, whatever the Weather was, and as long as he was able to stand, and pressing still most upon the Foot that threatned him: when he came home he went to a warm Bed, and was rubbed very well, and chiefly upon the place where the Pain begun. If it continued, or returned next day, he repeated the same course, and was never laid up with it; and before his death

death recommended this Course to his Son, if he should ever fall into that Accident.

A *Dutchman*, who had been long in the *East-Indies*, told me in one part of them, where he had lived some time, the general Remedy of all that were subject to the *Gout*, was rubbing with Hands? and that whoever had Slaves enough to do that constantly every day, and relieve one another by turns till the Motion raised a violent Heat about the Joints where it was chiefly used, was never troubled much, or laid up by that Disease.

My youngest Brother told me he had a Keeper very subject to it, but that it never laid him up, but he was still walking after his Deer or his Stud while he had the Fits upon him, as at other times, and often from morning to night, though in pain all the while. This he gave me as one Instance, that poor and toiling Men have sometimes the *Gout*, and that many more may have it, who take no more notice of it, than his Keeper did, who yet he confess used to bring the Fits of *Gout* upon him, by Fits of Drinking, which no doubt is

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a Receipt that will hardly fail, if Men grow old in the Custom.

Monfieur *Serinchamps* told me; a *Lorrain* Surgeon had undertaken to cure it by a more extraordinary way than any of thefe; which was by whipping the naked Part with a great Rod of Nettles till it grew all over blistered; and that he had once perfuaded him to perform this Pennance in a sharp Fit he had, and the Pain in his knee fo violent, as helped him to endure this Remedy. He faid it was cruel, that all where he was whipt, grew fo angry, and swell'd as well as blister'd, that he thought it had given him a Fever that night. The next morning the Part was all as ftiff as a Boot, and the Skin like Parchment; but that keeping it anointed with a certain *Oil* likewise of *Nettles*, it paff in two days, and the *Gout* too, without feeling any more pain that Fit.

All thefe things put together, with what a great Phyfician writes of Cures by whipping with Rods, and another with Holly, and by other cruelties of cutting or burning, made me certainly conclude, that the *Gout* was a Companion that ought to be treated like an Enemy

Enemy, and by no means like a Friend, and that grew troublesome chiefly by good usage; and this was confirmed to me, by considering that it haunted usually the Easie and the Rich, the Nice and the Lazy, who grow to endure much, because they can endure little; That make much of it as soon as it comes, and yet leave not making much of themselves too; That take care to carry it presently to Bed, and keep it safe and warm, and indeed lay up the *Gout* for two or three Months, while they give out, that the *Gout* lays up them. On t'other side, it hardly approaches the rough and the poor, such as labour for meat, and eat only for hunger; that drink Water, either pure, or but discoloured with Malt; that know no use of Wine, but for a Cordial, as it is, and perhaps was only intended: Or if such Men happen by their native constitutions to fall into the *Gout*, either they mind it not at all, having no leisure to be sick; or they use it like a Dog, they walk on, or they toil and work as they did before, they keep it wet and cold; or if they are laid up, they are perhaps
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forced by that to fast more than before, and if it lasts, they grow impatient, and fall to beat it, or whip it, or cut it, or burn it; and all this while perhaps never known the very name of the *Gout*.

But to follow my experiment, I past that Summer here at *Nimeguen*, without the least remembrance of what had happen'd to me in the Spring, till about the end of *September*, and then began to feel a pain that I knew not what to make of, in the same joint, but of my other foot: I had flattered my self with hopes, that the vapour had been exhaled, as my learned Authors had taught me, and that thereby the business had been ended; This made me neglect my *Moxa* for two days, the pain not being violent, till at last my foot began to swell, and I could set it no longer to the ground. Then I fell to my *Moxa* again, and burnt it four times before the pain went clear away, as it did upon the last, and I walked at ease, as I had done the first time, and within six days after above a league, without the least return of any pain.

I continued well till this Spring, when about the end of *March* feeling
again

again the same Pain, and in the same Joint, but of the first Foot; and finding it grow violent, I immediately burnt it, and felt no more after the third time; was never off my Legs, nor kept my Chamber a day. Upon both these last Experiments I omitted the application of Garlick, and contented my self with a Plaister only of *Diapalma* upon the place that was burnt, which crusted and healed in very few days, and without any trouble. I have since continu'd perfectly well to this present *June*; and with so much confidence of the Cure, that I have been content to trouble my self some hours with telling the Story, which, 'tis possible, may at one time or other be thought worth making publick, if I am further confirmed by more time and Experiments of my own, or of others. And thereby I may not only satisfy Monsieur *Zulichem*, but my self too, who should be sorry to omit any good I thought I could do to other Men, though never so unknown.

But this Cure, I suppose cannot pretend to deal with inveterate *Gouts*, grown habitual by long and frequent returns,

returns, by dispositions of the Stomach to convert even the best Nourishment into those Humours, and the Vessels to receive them. For such Constitutions, by all I have discovered, or considered upon this Subject, the Remedies (if any) are to be proposed either from a constant Course of the Milken Diet, continued at least for a Year together; or else from some of those Methods commonly used in the Cure of a worse Disease (if at least I may be so bold with one that is so much in vogue;) the usual Exceptions to the first, are not only so long a constraint, but the weakness of Spirits whilst it continues, and the danger of Fevers whenever 'tis left off. There may, I believe, be some Care necessary in this last point, upon so great a Change; but for the other, I have met with no Complaints among those that have used it; and Count *Egmont*, who has done so, more, I believe, than any other Man, has told me he never found himself in so much vigour, as in the midst of that Course. I have known so many great Examples of this Cure, and heard of its being so familiar in *Austria*, that I wonder it
has

has gained no more Ground in other Places, and am apt to conclude from it, that the loss of Pain is generally thought to be purchased too dear by the loss of Pleasure.

For the other, I met with a Physician, whom I esteemed a Man of truth, that told me of several great Cures of the *Gout*, by a course of *Guaiacum*, and of two Patients of his own that had gone so far as to be fluxed for it, and with success. And indeed there seems nothing so proper, as what pretends to change the whole Mass of the Blood, or else a long course of violent perspiration. But the mischief is, That the *Gout* is commonly the Disease of Aged Men, who cannot go through with these strong Remedies, which Young Men play with upon other occasions; and the reason, I suppose, why these ways are so little practised, is because it happens so seldom that Young Men have the *Gout*.

Let the Disease be new or old, and the Remedies either of common or foreign growth, there is one ingredient of absolute necessity in all Cases: For whoever thinks of curing the *Gout*

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with:

without great Temperance, had better resolve to endure it with patience: And I know not whether some desperate degrees of Abstinence would not have the same effect upon other Men, as they had upon *Atticus*, who weary of his Life as well as his Physicians, by long and cruel Pains of a Dropsical *Gout*, and despairing of any Cure, resolved by degrees to starve himself to Death, and went so far, that the Physicians found he had ended his Disease instead of his Life; and told him, That to be well, there would need nothing but only resolve to live. His Answer was noble; That since dying was a thing to be done, and he was now so far on his way, he did not think it worth the while to return. This was said and done, and could indeed have been so by none, but such a Man as *Atticus*, who was singular in his Life, as well as his Death; and has been ever, I confess, by me as much esteemed in both, as any of those that have made greater Figures upon the busie Scenes of their own times, and since in Records of Story and of Fame.

But perhaps some such Methods might

might succeed with others upon the designs to live, as they did with him upon those to die; and though such degrees may be too desperate, yet none of Temperance can, I think, be too great for those that pretend the Cure of inveterate *Gouts*, or indeed of most other Diseases to which Mankind is exposed, rather by the viciousness than by the frailty of their Natures. Temperance, that Virtue without Pride, and Fortune without Envy, that gives indolence of Body, and Tranquility of Mind; the best Guardian of Youth, and support of old Age; The Precept of Reason, as well as Religion; and Physician of the Soul as well as the Body; The Tutelar Goddess of Health, and universal Medicine of Life, that clears the Head, and cleanses the Blood, that eases the Stomach, and purges the Bowels, that strengthens the Nerves, enlightens the Eyes, and comforts the Heart. In a word, that secures and perfects Digestion, and thereby avoids the Fumes and Winds to which we owe the Collick and the Spleen; those Crudities and sharp Humours that feed the *Scurvy* and the *Gout*, and those slimy Dregs,

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out of which the *Gravel* and *Stone* are formed within us. Diseases by which we often condemn our selves to greater Torments and Miseries of Life, than have perhaps been yet invented by Anger or Revenge, or inflicted by the greatest Tyrants upon the worst of Men.

I do not allow the pretence of Temperance to all such as are seldom or never drunk, or fall into Surfeits; for Men may lose their Health, without losing their Senses, and be intemperate every day, without being drunk perhaps once in their Lives! Nay, for ought I know, if a Man should pass the month in a College-diet, without excess or variety of Meats or of Drinks, but only the last day give a loose in them both, and so far till it comes to serve him for Physick rather than Food, and he utter his Stomach as well as his Heart; he may perhaps as to the meer considerations of Health, do much better than another that eats every day but as Men do generally in *England*, who pretend to live well in Court or in Town; that is in Plenty and Luxury, with great variety of Meats, and a dozen

dozen Glasses of Wine at a Meal, still spurring up Appetite when it would lie down of it self; flusht every day but never drunk; and with the help of dozing three Hours after Dinner, as sober and wise as they were before.

But that which I call Temperance, and reckon so necessary in all attempts and methods of Curing the *Gout*, is a regular and simple Diet, limited by every Mans experience of his own easie digestion, and thereby proportioning, as near, as well as can be, the daily repairs to the daily decays of our wasting Bodies. Nor can this be determined by measures and weights, or any general Lessian Rules; but must vary with the vigour or decays of Age or of Health, and the use or disuse of Air, or of Exercise, with the changes of Appetite; and thereby what every Man may find or suspect of the present strength or weakness of digestion: And in case of Excesses, I take the *German Proverbial Cure* by a *Hair of the same Beast*, to be the worst in the World; and the best to be that which is called the *Monks Diet*, to eat till you are sick, and fast till you are well again. In all courses

courses of the *Gout*, the most effectual point I take to be abstinence from Wine, further than as a Cordial where faintness or want of Spirits require it: And the use of Water where the Stomach will bear it, as I believe most Mens will, and with great advantage of digestion, unless they are spoiled with long and constant use of Wines or other strong drinks. In that case they must be weaned, and the habit changed by degrees, and with time, for fear of falling into Consumptions, instead of recovering *Dropsies* or *Gouts*. But the Wines used by those that feel or fear this Disease, or pursue the Cure, should rather be *Spanish* or *Portugal*, than either *French* or *Rhenish*; and of the *French*, rather the *Provence* or *Languedoc*, than the *Bordeaux* or *Campagne*; and of the *Rhenish*, the *Ringaw* and *Bleker*, of which at least it may be said that they do not so much harm as the others.

But I have known so great Cures, and so many, done by obstinate resolutions of drinking no Wine at all, that I put more weight upon the part of Temperance, than any other. And I doubt very much whether the great
 encrease

encrease of that Disease in *England* within these Twenty Years, may not have been occasioned by the custom of so much Wine introduced into our constant and common Tables: For this use may be more pernicious to Health, than that of Taverns and Debauches, according to the old Stile, which were but by Fits, and upon set or casual Encounters. I have sometimes thought that this Custom of using Wine for our common drink, may alter in time the very Constitution of our Nation, I mean the native tempers of our Bodies and Minds, and cause a heat and sharpness in our Humours, which is not natural to our Climate. Our having been denied it by Nature, is Argument enough that it was never intended us for common use; nor do I believe it was so in any other Countries; there being so small a part of the World where it grows; and where it does, the use of it pure being so little practised, and in some Places defended by Customs or Laws. So that *Turks* have not known it, unless of late Years; and I have met with many *Spaniards* that never tasted it pure in their Lives; nor in the time when I was in *France*,

France, did I observe any I convers'd with to drink it unmixt at meals. The true use of Wine, is either as I mentioned, for a Cordial; and I believe there is not a better to such as drink it seldom; Or else what the Mother of *Lemuel* tells her Son, *Give strong Drink to him that is ready to perish, and Wine to those that are heavy of Heart; let him drink and forget his Poverty, and remember his Misery no more.* At least it ought to be reserv'd for the times and occasions of feast and of joy, and be treated like a Mistress rather than a Wife, without abandoning either our Wits to our Humours, or our Healths to our Pleasure, or that of one sense to those of all the rest, which I doubt it impairs. This Philosophy I suppose may pass with the Youngest and most Sensual Men, while they pretend to be reasonable; but whenever they have a mind to be otherwise, the best way they can take, is to drink or to sleep, and either of them will serve the turn.

F I N I S.

Miscellanea.

THE SECOND PART.

In Four ESSAYS.

- I. *Upon Antient and Modern Learning.*
 - II. *Upon the Gardens of Epicurus.*
 - III. *Upon Heroick Virtue.*
 - IV. *Upon Poetry.*
-

BY
Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE
BARONET.

—*Juvat antiquos accedere Fontes.*

The Fifth Edition.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. Simpson, at the *Three
Trouts*, and R. Simpson at the *Harp*
in St. Paul's Church-Yard. 1705.

1. The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study of the history of the Chinese language and the role of the Chinese language in the development of the Chinese nation. It also discusses the relationship between the Chinese language and the Chinese culture, and the role of the Chinese language in the development of the Chinese nation.

2. The second part of the paper discusses the development of the Chinese language from ancient times to the present. It discusses the changes in the Chinese language over time, and the role of the Chinese language in the development of the Chinese nation.

3. The third part of the paper discusses the role of the Chinese language in the development of the Chinese nation. It discusses the relationship between the Chinese language and the Chinese culture, and the role of the Chinese language in the development of the Chinese nation.

4. The fourth part of the paper discusses the role of the Chinese language in the development of the Chinese nation. It discusses the relationship between the Chinese language and the Chinese culture, and the role of the Chinese language in the development of the Chinese nation.

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9. The ninth part of the paper discusses the role of the Chinese language in the development of the Chinese nation. It discusses the relationship between the Chinese language and the Chinese culture, and the role of the Chinese language in the development of the Chinese nation.

10. The tenth part of the paper discusses the role of the Chinese language in the development of the Chinese nation. It discusses the relationship between the Chinese language and the Chinese culture, and the role of the Chinese language in the development of the Chinese nation.

Almæ Matri

Academiæ Cantabrigiensi

Has qualescunque Nugas

At Rei Literariæ non alienas

D. D. Dq;

A L U M N U S olim

Et semper Observantissimus

W. T E M P L E

MISCELLANEA.

An Essay upon the Ancient and Modern Learning.

WHoever converses much among the old Books, will be something hard to please among the New; yet these must have their Part too in the Leisure of an idle Man, and have many of them, their Beauties as well as their Defaults. Those of Story, or Relations of Matter of Fact, have a Value from their Substance, as much as from their Form, and the Variety of Events, is seldom without Entertainment or Instruction. how indifferently soever the Tale is told. Other Sorts of Writings have little of Esteem, but what they receive from the Wit, Learning, or Genius of the Authors, and are seldom met with of any Excellency
because

because they do but trace over the Paths that have been beaten by the Ancients, or Comment, Critick and Flou-
 rish upon them; and, are at best, but Copies, after those Originals, unless upon Subjects never touched by them; such as are all that relate to the different Constitutions of Religions, Laws, or Governments in several Countries, with all Matters of Controversy that arise upon them.

Two Peices that have lately pleased me (abstracted from any of these Subjects) are, one in *English* upon the *Antideluvian* World; and another in *French* upon the *Plurality of Worlds*; one writ by a Divine, and the other by a Gentleman but both very finely in their several Kinds, and upon their several Subjects, which would have made very poor work in common Hands: I was so pleased with the last (I mean the Fashion of it, rather than the Matter, which is old and beaten) that I enquired for what else I could of the same hand, till I met with a small Piece concerning Poesy, which gave me the same Exception to both these Authors, whom I should otherwise have been very partial to. For the first could not end his
 Learned

Learned Treatise without a Panegyrick of Modern Learning and Knowledge, in Comparison of the Ancient: And the other falls so grossly into the censure of the old Poetry and Preference of the new, that I could not read either of these Strains, without some Indignation, which no Quality among Men is so apt to raise in me as Sufficiency, the worst Composition out of the Pride and Ignorance of Mankind. But these two, being not the only Persons of the Age that defend these Opinions, it may be worth examining, how far either Reason or Experience can be allowed to plead or determine in their Favour.

The Force of all that I have met with upon this Subject, either in Talk or Writing is, first, as to Knowledge, that we must have more than the Ancients, because we have the Advantage both of theirs and our own; which is commonly illustrated by the Similitude of a Dwarf's standing upon a Gyant's shoulders, and seeing more or farther than he. Next as to Wit or Genius, that Nature being still the same, these must be much at a Rate in all Ages, at least in the same Climats, as the
Growth

Growth and Size of Plants and Animals commonly are ; And if both these are allowed, they think the cause is gained. But I cannot tell why we should conclude, that the Ancient Writers had not as much Advantage from the Knowledge of others, that were Ancient to them, as we have from those that are Ancient to us. The Invention of Printing, has not perhaps, multiplied Books, but only the Copies of them ; and if we believe there were Six Hundred Thousand in the Library of *Ptolomy*, we shall hardly pretend to equal it by any of ours, not perhaps, by all put together ; I mean so many Originals, that have lived any Time, and thereby given Testimony of their having been thought worth preserving. For the Scribblers are infinite, that like Mushrooms or Flies, are born and dye in small circles of time ; whereas Books like Proverbs, receive their chief Value from the Stamp and Esteem of Ages through which they have passed. Besides, the Account of this Library at *Alexandria*, and others very Voluminous, in the lesser *Asa* and *Rome*, we have frequent mention of Ancient Writers in many of those Books which
we

we now call Ancient, both Philosophers and Historians. 'Tis true, that besides what we have in Scripture concerning the Original and Progress of the Jewish Nation; all that passed in the rest of our World before the Trojan War, is either sunk in the Depths of Time, wrapt up in the Mysteries of Fables, or so maimed by the Want of Testimonies and loss of Authors, that it appears to us in too obscure a Shade, to make any Judgement upon it. For the Fragments of *Manethon* about the Antiquities of *Ægypt*, the Relations in *Justin* concerning the *Scythian* Empire, and many others in *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus*, as well as the Records of *China*, make such Excursions beyond the Periods of Time given us by the Holy Scriptures, that we are not allowed to reason upon them. And this Disagreement it self after so great a Part of the World became Christian, may have contributed to the Loss of many Ancient Authors. For *Solomon* tells us even in his Time, of Writing many Books there was no End; and whoever considers the Subject and the Style of *Job*, which by many is thought more ancient than *Moses* will hardly think

think it was written in an Age or Country that wanted either Books or Learning; and yet he speaks of the Ancients then, and their Wisdom as we do now.

But if any should so very rashly and presumptuously conclude, That there were few Books before those we have either Extant or upon Record; yet that cannot argue there was no Knowledge or Learning before those Periods of Time, whereof they give us the short Account. Books may be Helps to Learning and Knowledge, and make it more common and difused; but I doubt, whether they are necessary ones or no, or much advance any other Science, beyond the particular Records of Actions or Registers of Time; and these perhaps, might be as long preserved without them, by the Care and Exactness of Tradition in the long Successions of certain Races of Men, with whom they were intrusted. So in *Mexico* and *Pern*, before the least use or Mention of Letters, there was remaining among them, the Knowledge of what had passed in those mighty Nations and Governments for many Ages. Whereas in *Ireland*, that is said to have flourished in
Books

Books and Learning before they had much Progress in *Gaul* or *Brittany*; there are now hardly any Traces left of what passed there, before the Conquest made of that Country by the *English* in *Henry* the Second's Time. A strange but plain Demonstration, how Knowledge and Ignorance, as well as Civility and Barbarism, may succeed each other in the several Countries of the World, how much better the Records of Time may be kept by Tradition in one Country than Writing in another; and how much we owe to those Learned Languages of *Greek* and *Latin*, without which, for ought I know, the World in all these *Western* Parts, would hardly be known to have been above five or six Hundred Years old, nor any certainty remain of what passed in it before that Time.

'Tis true, in the *Eastern* Regions, there seems to have been a general Custom of the Priests in each Country; having been either by their own Choice, or by Design of the Governments, the perpetual Conservers of Knowledge and Story. Only in *China*, this last was committed particularly to certain Officers of State, who were appointed or

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continued upon every Accession to that Crown, to register distinctly the Times and memorable Events of each Reign. In *Æthiopia, Ægypt, Chaldea, Persia, Syria, Judea*, these Cares were committed wholly to the Priests who were not less diligent in the Registers of Times and Actions, than in the Study and successive Propagation thereby of all *Natural Science and Philosophy*. Whether this was managed by Letters, or Tradition, or by both; 'tis certain the Ancient Colledges, or Societies of Priests, were mighty Reservoirs or Lakes of Knowledge, into which some Streams entred perhaps every Age, from the Observations or Inventions of any great Spirits or transcendent Genius's, that happened to rise among them: And nothing was lost out of these Stores, since the Part of conserving what others have gained, either in Knowledge or Empire, is as common and easy, as the other is hard and rare among Men.

In these Soils were planted and cultivated those mighty Growths of *Astronomy, Astrology, Magick, Geometry, Natural Philosophy, and Ancient Story*. From these Sources, *Orpheus, Homer, Lycurgus, Pythagoras, Plato*, and others
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of the Ancients, are acknowledged to have drawn all those Depths of Knowledge or Learning, which have made them so Renowned in all succeeding Ages. I make a Distinction between these Two, taking Knowledge to be properly meant of things that are generally agreed to be true by Consent of those that first found them out, or have been since instructed in them; but Learning is the Knowledge of the different and contested Opinions of Men in former Ages, and about which they have perhaps never agreed in any; and this makes so much of one, and so little of the other in the World.

Now to judge, Whether the Ancients or Moderns, can be probably thought to have made the greatest Progress in the Search and Discoveries of the vast Region of Truth and Nature; it will be worth inquiring, What Guides have been used, and what Labours imploy'd by the one and the other in these Noble Travels and Pursuits.

The Modern Scholars have their usual Recourse to the Universities of their Countries; some few it may be to those of their Neighbours; and this, in quest

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of Books rather than Men for their Guides, though these are living, and those in Comparison, but dead Instructors; which like a Hand with an Inscription, can point out the straight Way upon the Road, but can neither tell you the next Turnings, resolve your Doubts, or answer your Questions, like a Guide that has traced it over, and perhaps knows it as well as his Chamber. And who are these dead Guides we seek in our Journey? They are at best but some few Authors that remain among us, of a great many that wrote in Greek and Latin, from the Age of *Hypocrates* to that of *Marcus Antoninus*, which reaches not much above Six Hundred Years. Before that time I know none, besides some Poets, some Fables, and some few Epistles; and since that time, I know very few that can pretend to be Authors, rather than Transcribers or Commentators of the Ancient Learning: Now to consider at what Sources our Ancients drew their Water, and with what unwearied Pains: 'Tis evident, *Thales* and *Pythagoras* were the Two Founders of the *Grecian* Philosophy; the First, gave Beginning to the *Ionick* Sect,

Sect, and the other to the *Italick*; out of which, all the others celebrated in *Greece* or *Rome* were derived or composed: *Thales* was the First of the *Sophi*, or Wise Men, Famous in *Greece*, and is said to have learned his *Astronomy*, *Geometry*, *Astrology*, *Theology*, in his Travels from his Country *Miletus*, to *Ægypt*, *Phœnicia*, *Crete*, and *Delphos*: *Pythagoras* was the Father of Philosophers, and of the Virtues, having in Modesty, chosen the Name of a Lover of Wisdom rather than of Wise; and having first introduced the Names of the Four Cardinal Virtues, and given them the Place and Rank they have held ever since in the World: Of these Two Mighty Men remain no Writings at all, for those Golden Verses, that go under the Name of *Pythagoras*, are generally rejected as spurious, like many other Fragments of *Sybils* or Old Poets, and some intire Poems that run with Ancient Names: Nor is it agreed, Whether he ever left any thing written to his Scholars or Contemporaries; or whether all that learn't of him, did it not by the Ear and Memory; and all that remained of him, for some succeeding Ages, were not by Tradition.

But whether these ever writ or no, they were the Fountains, out of which the following *Greek* Philosophers drew all those Streams that have since watered the Studies of the Learned World, and furnished the Voluminous Writings of so many Sects, as passed afterwards under the common Name of Philosophers.

As there were Guides to those that we call Ancients, so there were others that were Guides to them, in whose Search they travelled far and laboured long.

There is nothing more agreed, than, That all the Learning of the *Greeks* was deduced Originally from *Egypt* or *Phœnicia*; but, Whether theirs might not have flourished to that Degree it did, by the Commerce of the *Ethiopians*, *Chaldæans*, *Arabians*, and *Indians*, is not so evident, (though I am very apt to believe it) and to most of these Regions some of the *Grecians* travelled, in Search of those Golden Mines of Learning and Knowledge: Not to mention the Voyages of *Orpheus*, *Musæus*, *Lycurgus*, *Thales*, *Solon*, *Democritus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, and that vain Sophist, *Appollonius*, (who
was

was but an Ape of the Ancient Philosophers) I shall only trace, those of *Pythagoras*, who seems, of all others, to have gone the farthest upon this Design, and to have brought home the greatest Treasures. He went first to *Egypt*, where he spent Two and Twenty Years in Study and Conversation, among the several Colleges of Priests, in *Memphis*, *Thebes* and *Heliopolis*, was initiated in all their several Mysteries, in order to gain Admittance and Instruction, in the Learning and Sciences that were there, in their highest Ascendent. Twelve Years he spent in *Babylon*, and in the Studies and Learning of the Priests or *Magi* of the *Chaldeans*. Besides these long abodes, in those Two Regions, celebrated for Ancient Learning, and where one Author, according to their Calculations, says, He gained the Observations of innumerable Ages, He Travelled likewise upon the same scent, into *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, *India*, to *Crete*, to *Delphos*, and to all the Oracles that were Renowned in any of these Regions.

What sort of Morals, some of those may have been, that he went so far to seek, I shall only endeavour to Trace out, by the most ancient Accounts, that

are given of the *Indian Brachmans*, since those of the Learned or Sages in the other Countries, occur more frequent in Story. These, were all of one Race or Tribe, that was kept chaste from any other Mixture, and were dedicated wholly to the Service of the Gods, to the Studies of Wisdom and Nature, and to the Council of their Princes. There was not only particular Care taken of their Birth and Nurture, but even from their Conception. For when a Woman among them, was known to have Conceived, much Thought and Diligence was imployed about her Diet and Entertainments, so far, as to furnish her with pleasant Imaginations, to compose her Mind and her Sleeps, with the best Temper, during the Time she carried her Burthen. This, I take to be a Strain, beyond all the *Grecian* Wit, or the Constitutions even of their imaginary Law-givers, who began their cares of Mankind, only after their Birth, and none before. Those of the *Brachmans*, continued in the same Degree for their Education and Instruction, in which, and their Studies, and Discipline of their Colleges, or separate Abodes in Woods and Fields, they spent Thirty Seven Years. Their Learning
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and Institutions, were unwritten, and only traditional among themselves, by a perpetual Succession. Their Opinions in Natural Philosophy, were, That the World was round, that it had a Beginning, and would have an End, but reckoned both by immense Periods of Time; That the Author of it, was a Spirit, or a Mind, that pervaded the whole Universe, and was diffused through all the Parts of it. They held the Transmigration of Souls, and some used Discourses of Infernal Manfions, in many things, like those of *Plato*. Their Moral Philosophy, consisted chiefly in preventing all Diseases or Distempers of the Body, from which, they esteemed the perturbation of Mind, in a great measure to arise. Then, in composing the Mind, and exempting it from all anxious Cates, esteeming the troublesome and sollicitous Thoughts, about Past and Future, to be like so many Dreams, and no more to be regarded. They despised both life and death, pleasure and pain, or at least thought them perfectly indifferent. Their Justice, was exact and exemplary, their Temperance so great, that they lived upon Rice or

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Herbs,

Herbs, and upon nothing that had sensitive Life. If they fell sick, they counted it such a Mark of Intemperance, that they would frequently dye, out of Shame and Sullenness, but many lived a Hundred and Fifty, and some Two Hundred Years.

Their Wisdom was so highly esteemed, that some of them were always employed to follow the Courts of their Kings, to advise them upon all Occasions; and instruct them in Justice and Piety; and upon this Regard, *Calanus*, and some others, are said to have followed the Camp of *Alexander*, after his Conquest of one of their Kings. The Magical Operations, reported of them, are so wonderful, that they must either be wholly disbelieved, or will make easie way, for the Credit of all those, that we so often meet with, in the latter Relations of the *Indies*. Above all the rest, their Fortitude was most admirable in their Patience and Endurance of all Evils, of Pain, and of Death; some standing, sitting, lying, without any Motion, whole days together in the scorching Sun; others standing whole nights upon one Leg, and holding up a heavy Piece of Wood
or

or Stone in both hands, without ever moving, (which might be done, upon some sort of Penances usual among them.) They frequently ended their Lives, by their own Choice, and not Necessity, and most usually by Fire; some upon Sickness, others upon Misfortunes, some upon meer satiety of Life; so *Calanus*, in *Alexander's* time, burnt himself publickly, upon growing old and infirm; *Zornanochages*, in the time of *Augustus*, upon his constant Health and Felicity, and to prevent his living so long, as to fall into Diseases or Misfortunes. These were the *Brachmans* of *India*, by the most Ancient Relations remaining of them, and which compared with our Modern, (since Navigation and Trade have discovered so much of those vast Countries) make it easie to conjecture, that the present *Banians* have derived from them many of their Customs and Opinions, which are still very like them, after the course of Two Thousand Years. For how long, Nations, without the Changes, introduced by Conquest, may continue in the same Customs, Institutions, and Opinions, will be easily observed, in the Stories of the
Pernu.

Peruvians, and *Mexicans*, of the *Chin-
ses* and *Scythians*: These last, being
described by *Herodotus*, to lodge al-
ways in Carts, and to feed commonly
upon the Milk of Mares, as the
Tartars are reported to do at this time,
in many Parts of those vast *Northern*
Regions.

From these Famous *Indians*, it seems
to me most probable, that *Pythagoras*
learn'd, and transported into *Greece* and
Italy, the greatest Part of his Natural
and Moral Philosophy, rather than
from the *Egyptians*, as is commonly
supposed: For I have not observed,
any mention of the Transmigration of
Souls, held among the *Egyptians*, more
ancient than the time of *Pythagoras*:
On the contrary, *Orpheus* is said to
have brought out of *Egypt*, all his
Mystical Theology, with the Stories
of the *Stygian Lake*, *Charon*, the Infer-
nal Judges, which were wrought up,
by the succeeding Poets (with a mix-
ture of the *Cretan Tales*, or Traditi-
ons) into that part of the *Pagan Re-
ligion*, so long observed by the *Greeks*
and *Romans*. Now 'tis obvious, that
this was in all parts very different
from the *Pythagorean Opinion* of Trans-
migration,

migration, which, though it was preserved long, among some of the succeeding Philosophers, yet never entered into the vulgar Belief of *Greece* or *Italy*.

Nor does it seem unlikely, that the *Egyptians* themselves might have drawn much of their Learning from the *Indians*, for they are observed, in some Authors, to have done it from the *Æthiopians*; and Chronologers, I think, agree, that these were a Colony, that came anciently from the River *Indus*, and planted themselves upon that Part of *Africa*, which from their Name, was afterward called *Æthiopia*, and in probability, brought their Learning and their Customs with them. The *Phœnicians* are likewise said to have been anciently a Colony that came from the *Red Sea*, and planted themselves upon the *Mediterranean*, and from thence spread so far the Fame of their Learning, and their Navigations.

To strengthen this Conjecture, of much Learning being derived from such remote and ancient Fountains as the *Indies*, and perhaps *China*; it may be asserted with great Evidence, that
though

though we know little of the Antiquities of *India*, beyond *Alexander's* time; yet those of *China* are the oldest that any where pretend to any fair Records: For these are agreed, by the Missionary Jesuits, to extend so far above Four Thousand Years; and with such Appearance of clear and undeniable Testimonies, that those Religious Men themselves, rather than question their Truth, by finding them contrary to the vulgar Chronology of the Scripture, are content to have recourse to that of the *Septuagint*, and thereby, to salve the Appearances, in those Records of the *Chineses*. Now though we have been deprived the knowledge of what Course Learning may have held, and to what heights it may have soared, in that vast Region, and during so great Antiquity of time, by reason of the Savage Ambition of one of their Kings, who desirous to begin the Period of History, from his own Reign, ordered all Books to be burnt, except those of Physick and Agriculture; so that, what we have remaining besides, of that wise and ancient Nation, is but what was either by Chance, or by private Industry, rescued

cued out of that publick Calamity (among which, were a Copy of the Records and Successions of the Crown); yet it is observable and agreed, that as the Opinions of the Learned among them are at present, so they were anciently divided into Two Sects, whereof one held the Transmigration of Souls, and the other the Eternity of Matter, comparing the World to a great Mass of Metal, out of which some Parts are continually made up into a Thousand various Figures, and after certain Periods, Melted down again into the same Mass. That there were many Volumes, written of old in Natural Philosophy among them: That near the Age of *Socrates*, lived their Great and Renowned *Confutius*, who began the same Design, of reclaiming Men from the useless and endless Speculations of Nature, to those of Morality. But with this Difference, that the Bent of the *Grecian* seemed to be chiefly upon the Happiness of private Men or Families, but that of the *Chinese*, upon the good Temperament and Felicity of such Kingdoms or Governments as that was, and is known to have continued for several
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Thousands of Years; and may be properly called, a Government of Learned Men, since no other are admitted into Charges of the State.

For my own part, I am much inclined to believe, that in these Remote Regions, not only *Pythagoras* learn'd the first Principles, both of his Natural and Moral Philosophy; but that those of *Democritus* (who Travelled into *Ægypt*, *Chaldea*, and *India*, and whose Doctrines were after improved by *Epicurus*) might have been derived from the same Fountains, and that long before them both, *Lycurgus*, who likewise Travelled into *India*, brought from thence also, the chief Principles of his Laws and Politicks, so much Renowned in the World.

For whoever observes the Account already given of the Ancient *Indian*, and *Chinese* Learning and Opinions, will easily find among them the Seeds of all these *Grecian* Productions and Institutions: As the Transmigration of Souls, and the four Cardinal Virtues. The long Silence enjoined his Scholars, and Propagation of their Doctrines by Tradition, rather than Letters, and Abstinence from all Meats,
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that had Animal Life, introduced by *Pythagoras*. The Eternity of Matter, with perpetual Changes of Form, the Indolence of Body, and Tranquility of Mind, by *Epicurus*. And among those of *Lycurgus*; the care of Education from the Birth of Children, the *Austere* Temperance of Diet, the patient endurance of Toil and Pain, the neglect or contempt of Life, the use of Gold and Silver only in their Temples, the Defence of Commerce with Strangers, and several others, by him established among the *Spartans*, seem all to be wholly *Indian*, and different from any Race or Vein of Thought and Imagination, that have ever appeared in *Greece*, either in that Age or any since.

It may look like a Paradox, to deduce Learning from Regions accounted commonly so barbarous and rude. And 'tis true, the generality of People were always so, in those *Eastern* Countries, and their Lives wholly turned to Agriculture, to Mechanicks, or to Trades: But this does not hinder particular Races or Successions of Men, (the design of whose Thought and Time, was turned wholly to Learning and Knowledge) from having been what they

they are represented, and what they deserve to be esteemed ; since among the *Gauls*, the *Goths*, and the *Peruvians* themselves, there have been such Races of Men under the Names of *Druids*, *Bards*, *Amautas*, *Runers*, and other barbarous Appellations.

Besides, I know no Circumstances, like to Contribute more to the advancement of Knowledge and Learning among Men, than exact Temperance in their Races, great pureness of Air, and equality of Clymate, long Tranquility of Empire or Government : And all these we may justly allow to those *Eastern* Regions, more than any others we are acquainted with, at least till the Conquests made by the *Tartars*, upon both *India* and *China*, in the latter Centuries. However, it may be as pardonable, to derive some Parts of Learning from thence, as to go so far, for the Game of *Chess*, which some Curious and Learned Men have deduced from *India* into *Europe*, by two several Roads, that is, by *Persia* into *Greece*, and by *Arabia* into *Africk* and *Spain*.

Thus much I thought might be allowed me to say, for the giving some Idea of what those Sages or Learned Men

Men were, or may have been, who were Ancients to those that are Ancients to us. Now to observe what these have been, is more easie and obvious. The most Ancient *Grecians* that we are at all acquainted with, after *Lycurgus*, who was certainly a great Philosopher as well as Law-giver, were the seven Sages. Tho' the Court of *Cræsus*, is said to have been much resorted to, by the Sophists of *Greece*, in the happy beginnings of his Reign. And some of these seven, seem to have brought most of the Sciences out of *Ægypt* and *Phœnicia*, into *Greece*; particularly those of *Astronomy*, *Astrology*, *Geometry*, and *Arithmetick*. These were soon followed, by *Pythagoras*, (who seems to have introduced Natural and Moral Philosophy) and by several of his Followers, both in *Greece* and *Italy*. But of all these, there remains nothing in Writing now among us; so that *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, and *Xenophon*, are the first *Philosophers*, whose Works have escaped the Injuries of time. But that we may not conclude, the first Writers we have of the *Grecians*, were the first Learned or Wise among them; We shall find upon inquiry, that the more

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ancient Sages of *Greece*, appear by the Characters remaining of them, to have been much the greater Men. They were generally Princes or Law-givers of their Countries, or at least offered and invited to be so, either of their own or of others, that desired them to frame or reform their several Institutions of Civil Government. They were commonly excellent Poets, and great Physicians; they were so learned in Natural Philosophy, that they fore-told, not only Eclipses in the Heavens, but Earthquakes at Land, and Storms at Sea, great Drowths and great Plagues, much Plenty, or much Scarcity of certain sorts of Fruits or Grain; not to mention the Magical Powers attributed to several of them, to allay Storms, to raise Gales, to appease Commotions of People, to make Plagues cease; which Qualities, whether upon any ground of Truth or no, yet if well believed, must have raised them to that strange height they were at, of common Esteem and Honour, in their own and succeeding Ages.

By all this may be determined, whether our Moderns or our Ancients, may have had the greater and the better

ter Guides, and which of them have taken the greater pains, and with the more Application in the Pursuit of Knowledge. And I think, it is enough to shew, that the Advantages we have, from those we call the Ancients, may not be greater, than what they had from those that were so to them.

But after all, I do not know whether the high flights of Wit and Knowledge, like those of Power and of Empire in the World, may not have been made by the pure Native Force of Spirit or Genius, in some single men, rather than by any derived strength among them, however increased by Succession; and whether they may not have been the Atchievements of Nature, rather than the Improvements of Art. Thus the Conquests of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, of *Alexander* and *Tamerlane*, which I take to have been the greatest Recorded in Story, were at their height, in those Persons that began them; and so far from being increased by their Successors, that they were not preserved in their extent and vigor by any of them, grew weaker in every hand they passed through, or were divided into many, that set

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up for great Princes, out of several small ruins of the first Empires, till they withered away in time, or were lost by the change of Names, and Forms of Families or of Governments.

Just the same Fate seems to have attended the highest flights of Learning and of Knowledge, that are upon our Registers. *Thales, Pythagoras, Democritus, Hyppocrates, Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus*, were the first mighty Conquerors of Ignorance in our World, and made greater Progresses in the several Empires of Science, than any of their Successors have been since able to reach. These have hardly ever pretended more, than to learn what the others taught, to remember what they invented, and not able to compass that it self, they have set up for Authors, upon some Parcels of those great Stocks, or else have contented themselves only to comment upon those Texts, and make the best Copies they could, after those Originals.

I have long thought, that the different Abilities of Men, which we call Wisdom or Prudence, for the Conduct of Publick Affairs or Private Life, grow directly out of that little grain of Intellect

telleſt or Good Senſe, which they bring with them into the World; and that the Defect of it in Men, comes from ſome Want in their Conception or Birth.

——*Dixitq; ſemel Naſcentibus Author.*
Quicquid ſcire licet ——

And though this may be improved or impaired in ſome Degree, by accidents of Education, of Study, and of Converſation and Buſineſs, yet it cannot go beyond the reach of its Native Force, no more than Life can, beyond the Period to which it was deſtined, by the Strength or Weakneſs of the ſeminal Virtue.

If theſe Speculations ſhould be true, then I know not what Advantages we can pretend to Modern Knowledge, by any we receive from the Ancients; Nay, 'tis poſſible, Men may loſe rather than gain by them; may leſſen the Force and Growth of their own Genius, by conſtraining and forming it upon that of others; may have leſs Knowledge of their own, for contenting themſelves with that of thoſe before them. So a Man that only Tranſlates,

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shall never be a Poet, nor a Painter that only Copies, nor a Swimmer that Swims always with Bladders. So People that trust wholly to others Charity, and without Industry of their own, will be always poor. Besides, who can tell, whether Learning may not even weaken Invention, in a Man that has great Advantages from Nature and Birth; whether the weight and number of so many other Mens thoughts and notions, may not suppress his own, or hinder the motion and agitation of them, from which all Invention arises; As heaping on Wood, or too many Sticks, or too close together, suppresses, and sometimes quite extinguishes a little Spark that would otherwise have grown up to a noble Flame. The strength of mind as well as of body, grows more from the warmth of Exercise, than of Cloaths; nay, too much of this Foreign heat, rather makes Men faint, and their Constitutions tender or weaker, than they would be without them. Let it come about how it will, if we are Dwarfs, we are still so, though we stand upon a Gyant's shoulders; and even so placed, yet we see less than he, if we are naturally

turally shorter sighted, or if we do not look as much about us, or if we are dazzled with the height, which often happens from weakness either of Heart or Brain.

In the growth and stature of Souls as well as Bodies, the common productions are of indifferent sizes, that occasion no gazing nor no wonder; But tho' there are or have been sometimes Dwarfs and sometimes Gyants in the World, yet it does not follow, that there must be such in every Age nor in every Country: This we can no more conclude, than that there never have been any, because there are none now, at least in the compass of our present Knowledge or Inquiry. As I believe, there may have been Gyants at some time, and some place or other in the World, of such a stature, as may not have been equalled perhaps again, in several Thousands of Years, or in any other Parts; so there may be Gyants in Wit and Knowledge, of so over-grown a size, as not to be equalled again in many successions of Ages, or any compass of Place or Country. Such, I am sure, *Lucretius* esteems, and describes *Epicurus* to have been,

and to have risen, like a Prodigy of Invention and Knowledge, such as had not been before, nor was like to be again; and I know not why others of the Ancients may not be allowed to have been as great in their Kinds, and to have built as high, though upon different Schemes or Foundations. Because there is a Stag's Head at *Amboyse*, of a most prodigious size, and a large Table at *Memorancy*, cut out of the thickness of a Vine-stock, is it necessary, that there must be, every Age, such a Stag in every great Forest, or such a Vine in every large Vineyard; or that the Productions of Nature in any kind, must be still alike, or something near it, because Nature is still the same? May there not many Circumstances concur to one Production, that do not to any other, in one or many Ages? In the growth of a Tree, there is the native Strength of the Seed, both from the Kind, and from the Perfections of its ripening, and from the Health and Vigor of the Plant that bore it. There is the Degree of Strength and Excellence, in that Vein of Earth where it first took Root; There is a Propriety of Soil, suited to the kind
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of Tree that grows in it; there is a great favour or dis-favour to its growth, from Accidents of Water and of Shelter, from the Kindness or Unkindness of Seasons, till it be past the Need or the Danger of them. All these, and perhaps many others, joined with the Propitiousness of Climate, to that sort of Tree, and the length of Age, it shall stand and grow, may produce an Oak, a Fig, or a Plain Tree, that shall deserve to be renowned in Story, and shall not perhaps be parallel'd in other Countries or Times.

May not the same have happened in the Production, Growth, and Size of Wit and Genius in the World, or in some Parts or Ages of it, and from many more Circumstances that contributed towards it, than what may concur to the stupendous Growth of a Tree or Animal? May there not have been, in *Greece* or *Italy* of old, such Prodigies of Invention and Learning in *Philosophy*, *Mathematicks*, *Physick*, *Oratory*, *Poetry*, that none has ever since approached them, as well as there were in *Painting*, *Statuary*, *Architecture*; and yet their unparallel'd and inimitable Excellencies in these are undisputed?

Science

Science and Arts have run their Circles, and had their Periods in the several Parts of the World ; They are generally agreed, to have held their course from *East* to *West*, to have begun in *Chaldea* and *Egypt*, to have been Transplanted from thence to *Greece*, from *Greece* to *Rome* ; to have sunk there, and after many Ages, to have revived from those Ashes, and to have sprung up again, both in *Italy* and other more *Western* Provinces of *Europe*. When *Chaldea* and *Egypt* were Learned and Civil, *Greece* and *Rome* were as rude and barbarous as all *Ægypt* and *Syria* now are, and have been long. When *Greece* and *Rome* were at their Heights, in Arts and Science, *Gaul*, *Germany*, *Britain*, were as ignorant and barbarous, as any Parts of *Greece* or *Turkey* can be now.

These, and greater Changes, are made in the several Countries of the World, and courses of time by the Revolutions of Empire, the Devastations of Armies, the Cruelties of Conquering, and the Calamities of enslaved Nations ; by the violent Inundations of Water in some Countries, and the Cruel Ravages of Plagues in others. These sorts of Accidents,

cidents, sometimes lay them so waste, that when they rise again, 'tis from such low beginnings, that they look like New-Created Regions, or growing out of the Original State of Mankind, and without any Records or Remembrances, beyond certain short periods of time. Thus that vast Continent of *Norway*, is said to have been so wholly desolated by a Plague, about Eight or Nine Hundred Years ago, that it was for some Ages following, a very Desert, and since all over-grown with Wood; And *Ireland* was so spoiled and wasted by the Conquests of the *Scutes* and *Danes*, that there hardly remains any Story or Tradition, what that Island was, how Planted or Governed above Five Hundred Years ago. What Changes have been made by Violent Storms, and Inundations of the Sea, in the Maritime Provinces of the *Low-Countries*, is hard to know, or to believe what is told, nor how ignorant they have left us, of all that passed there, before a certain and short period of time.

The Accounts of many other Countries, would perhaps, as hardly, and as late, have waded out of the Depths
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of Time, and Gulphs of Ignorance, had it not been for the Assistance of those two Languages, to which we owe all we have, of Learning or Ancient Records in the World. For whether we have any thing of the Old *Chaldean*, *Hebrew*, *Arabian*, that is truly Genuine, or more Ancient than the *Augustan* Age, I am much in doubt ; yet 'tis probable, the vast *Alexandrian* Library must have chiefly consisted of Books composed in those Languages, with the *Ægyptian* *Syrian* and *Æthiopick*, or at least, Translated out of them by the Care of the *Ægyptian* Kings or Priests, as the *Old Testament* was wherein the *Septuagints* employed, left their Name to that Famous Translation.

'Tis very true and just, all that is said of the mighty Progress that Learning and Knowledge have made in these *Western* Parts of *Europe*, within these hundred and fifty Years ; but that does not conclude, it must be at greater Height than it had been in other Countries, where it was growing much longer Periods of Time ; it argues more how low it was then amongst us, rather than how high it is now.

Upon

Upon the Fall of the *Roman* Empire, almost all Learning was buried in its Ruines: The *Northern* Nations that Conquered, or rather overwhelmed it by their Numbers, were too barbarous to preserve the Remains of Learning or Civility, more carefully than they did those of Statuary or Architecture, which fell before their Brutish Rage. The *Saracens* indeed from their Conquests of *Ægypt*, *Syria*, and *Greece*, carried home great Spoils of Learning, as well as other Riches, and gave the Original of all that Knowledge, which flourished for some time among the *Arabians*, and has since been copied out of many Authors among them, as theirs have been out of those of the Countries they had subdued; nor indeed, do Learning, Civility, Morality, seem any where to have made a greater Growth, in so short a time, than in that Empire, nor to have flourished more than in the Reign of their Great *Almanzor*, under whose Victorious Ensigns, *Spain* was Conquered by the *Moors*; but the *Goths*, and all the rest of those *Scythian* Swarms that from beyond the *Danube* and the *Elb*, under so many several Names, over-

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run all *Europe*, took very hardly, and very late any Tincture of the Learning and Humanity that had flourished in the several Regions of it, under the Protection, and by the Example and Instructions of the *Romans*, that had so long possessed them: Those *Northern* Nations were indeed easier induced to imbrace the Religion of those they had subdued, and by their Devotion gave great Authority and Revenues, and thereby Ease to the Clergy, both Secular and Regular, through all their Conquests. Great numbers of the better sort, among the Oppressed Natives, finding this vein among them, and no other way to be safe and quiet under such rough Masters, betook themselves to the Profession and Assemblies of Religious Orders and Fraternities, and among those only were preserved all the poor Remains of Learning, in these several Countries.

But these good Men, either contented themselves with their Devotion, or with the Ease of quiet Lives, or else employed their Thoughts and Studies to raise and maintain the Esteem and Authority of that Sacred Order, to which they owed the Safety and Repose,

pose, the Wealth and Honour they enjoyed. And in this they so well succeeded, that the Conquerors were governed by those they had subdued, the Greatest Princes by the Meanest Priests, and the Victorious *Franks* and *Lombard* Kings, fell at the Feet of the *Roman* Prelates.

Whilst the Clergy were busied in these Thoughts or Studies, the better sort among the Laity were wholly turned to Arms and to Honour, the meaner sort to Labour or to Spoil; Princes taken up with Wars among themselves, or in those of the Holy Land, or between the Popes and Emperors, upon Disputes of the Ecclesiastical and Secular Powers; Learning so little in use among them, that few could write or read, besides those of the Long Robes. During this Course of Time, which lasted many Ages in the *Western* Parts of *Europe*, the *Greek* Tongue was wholly lost, and the Purity of the *Roman* to that degree, that what remained of it, was only a certain Jargon rather than Latin, that passed among the *Monks* and *Fryars* who were at all Learned; and among the Students of the several
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Universities, which served to carry them to *Rome* in pursuit of Preferments or Causes depending there, and little else.

When the *Turks* took *Constantinople*, about Two hundred Years ago, and soon after possessed themselves of all *Greece*, the poor Natives fearing the Tyranny of those cruel Masters, made their Escapes in great numbers to the Neighbouring Parts of Christendom, some by the *Austrian* Territories into *Germany*, others by the *Venetian* into *Italy* and *France*; several that were Learned among these *Grecians*, (and brought many Ancient Books with them in that Language) began to teach it in these Countries; first to gain Subsistence, and afterwards Favour in some Princes, or Great Mens Courts, who began to take a Pleasure or Pride in countenancing Learned Men. Thus began the Restoration of Learning in these Parts, with that of the *Greek* Tongue; and soon after, *Reuchlyn* and *Erasmus* began that of the purer and ancient Latin. After them, *Buchanan* carried it, I think, to the greatest Heighth of any of the Moderns before or since: The *Monkish* Latin upon this
Return

Return, was laughed out of Doors, and remains only in the Inns of *Germany* or *Poland*; and with the Restitution of these two Noble Languages, and the Books remaining of them, (which many Princes and Prelates were curious to recover and collect) Learning of all Sorts began to thrive in these *Western* Regions; and since that time, and in the first succeeding Century, made perhaps a greater growth than in any other that we know of, in such a compass of time, considering into what Depths of Ignorance it was sunk before.

But why from thence should be concluded, That it has out-grown all that was Ancient, I see no reason; if a Strong and Vigorous Man, at Thirty Years old, should fall into a Consumption, and so draw on till Fifty, in the extreamest Weakness and Infirmary; after that, should begin to Recover Health till Sixty, so as to be again as Strong, as Men usually are at that Age; It might perhaps truly be said, in that case, that he had grown more in Strength, that last Ten Years, than any others of his Life; but not that he was grown to more Strength and Vi-

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gour, than he had at Thirty Years old.

But what are the Sciences, wherein we pretend to excel? I know of no New Philosophers, that have made Entries upon that Noble Stage, for Fifteen Hundred Years past, unless *Des Cartes* and *Hobbs* should pretend to it, of whom I shall make no Critick here, but only say, That by what appears of Learned Mens Opinions in this Age, they have by no means eclipsed the Lustre of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Epicurus*, or others of the Ancients. For Grammar or Rhetorick, no Man ever disputed it with them, nor for Poetry, that ever I heard of; besides the New *French* Author I have mentioned, and against whose Opinion there could, I think, never have been given stronger Evidence than by his own Poems, Printed together with that Treatise.

There is nothing new in *Astronomy*, to vie with the Ancients, unless it be the *Copernican* System; nor in *Physick*, unless *Harvey's* Circulation of the Blood. But whether either of these be modern Discoveries, or derived from old Fountains, is disputed: Nay, it is so too, whether they are true or no; for

for though Reason may seem to favour them more than the contrary Opinions, yet Sense can very hardly allow them; and to satisfy Mankind, both these must concur. But if they are true, yet these two great Discoveries have made no Change in the Conclusions of *Astronomy*, nor in the Practice of Physick, and so have been of little Use to the World, though perhaps of much Honour to the Authors.

What are become of the Charms of Musick, by which Men and Beasts, Fishes, Fowls and Serpents, were so frequently Enchanted, and their very Natures changed; by which the Passions of Men were raised to the greatest Height and Violence, and then as suddenly appeased, so as they might be justly said to be turned into Lyons or Lambs, into Wolves or into Harts, by the Power and Charms of this admirable Art? 'Tis agreed by the Learned, that the Science of Musick, so admired of the Ancients, is wholly lost in the World, and that what we have now, is made up out of certain Notes that fell into the Fancy or Observation of a poor *Fryar*, in chanting his Matins. So as those Two Divine Ex-

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cellencies of Musick and Poetry, are grown, in a manner, to be little more, but the one Fiddling, and the other Rhyming; and are indeed very worthy the Ignorance of the Fryar, and the Barbarousness of the *Goths* that introduced them among us.

What have we remaining of *Magick*, by which the *Indians*, the *Chaldeans*, the *Ægyptians*, were so renowned, and by which Effects so wonderful, and to common Men so astonishing were produced, as made them have Recourse to Spirits or Supernatural Powers, for some Account of their strange Operations? By *Magick*, I mean some excelling Knowledge of Nature, and the various Powers and Qualities, in its several Productions, and the Application of certain Agents, to certain Patients, which by Force of some peculiar Qualities, produce Effects very different from what fall under vulgar Observation or Comprehension. These are by ignorant People called *Magick* and *Conjuring*, and such like Terms, and an Account of them much about as wise, is given by the common Learned, from *Sympathies*, *Antipathies*, *Idiosyncrasies*, *Talismans*, and some Scraps
or

or Terms, left us by the *Ægyptians* or *Grecians*, of the Ancient Magick, but the Science seems, with several others, to be wholly lost.

What Traces have we left of that admirable Science or Skill in Architecture, by which, such stupendous Fabricks have been raised of old, and so many of the Wonders of the World been produced, and which are so little approached by our Modern Atchievements of this Sort, that they hardly fall within our Imagination? Not to mention the Walls and Palace of *Babylon*, the Pyramids of *Egypt*, the Tomb of *Mausolus*, or *Colosse* of *Rhodes*, the Temples and Palaces of *Greece* and *Rome*: What can be more admirable in this kind, than the *Roman* Theatres, their Aqueducts, and their Bridges, among which that of *Trajan* over the *Danube*, seems to have been the last Flight of the Ancient Architecture? The stupendous Effects of this Science, sufficiently evince, at what Heights the Mathematicks were among the Ancients; but if this be not enough, who ever would be satisfied, need go no further than the Siege of *Syracuse*, and that mighty Defence made against the

Roman Power, more by the wonderful Science and Arts of *Archimedes*, and almost Magical Force of his Engines, than by all the Strength of the City, or Number and Bravery of the Inhabitants.

The greatest Invention that I know of in later Ages, has been that of the Load-Stone, and consequently, the greatest Improvement has been made in the Art of Navigation; yet there must be allowed to have been something stupendous in the Numbers, and in the Built of their Ships and Gallies of Old; and the Skill of Pilots, from the Observation of the Stars in the more serene Climates, may be judged, by the Navigations so celebrated in Story, of the *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians*, not to mention other Nations. However, 'tis to this we owe the Discovery and Commerce of so many vast Countries, which were very little, if at all, known to the Ancients, and the experimental Proof of this Terrestrial Globe, which was before only Speculation, but has since been surrounded by the Fortune and Boldness of several Navigators. From this great, though fortuitous Invention,

tion, and the Consequence thereof, it must be allowed, that Geography is mightily advanced in these latter Ages. The vast Continents of *China*, the *East* and *West-Indies*, the long Extent and Coasts of *Africa*, with the numberless Islands belonging to them, have been hereby introduced into our Acquaintance, and our Maps, and great Increases of Wealth and Luxury, but none of Knowledge brought among us, further than the Extent and Situation of Countrey, the Customs and Manners of so many Original Nations, which we call Barbarous, and I am sure have treated them, as if we hardly esteem them to be a part of Mankind. I do not doubt, but many Great and more Noble Uses would have been made of such Conquests or Discoveries, if they had fallen to the Share of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in those Ages, when Knowledge and Fame were in as great Request, as endless Gains and Wealth are among us now; and how much greater Discoveries might have been made by such Spirits as theirs, is hard to guess. I am sure, ours, though great, yet look very imperfect, as to what the Face of this

Terrestrial Globe would probably appear, if they had been pursued as far as we might justly have expected from the Progresses of Navigation, since the Use of the Compass, which seems to have been long at a stand. How little has been performed, of what has been so often, and so confidently promised, of a *North-West* Passage to the *East* of *Tartary*, and *North* of *China*? How little do we know of the Lands on that side of the *Magellan Straits*, that lie towards the *South Pole*, which may be vast Islands or Continents, for ought any can yet aver, though that Passage was so long since found out? Whether *Japan* be Island or Continent, with some Parts of *Tartary*, on the *North* side, is not certainly agreed. The Lands of *Tedso*, upon the *North-East* Continent, have been no more than Coasted, and whether they may not join to the *Northern* Continent of *America*, is by some doubted.

But the Defect or Negligence seems yet to have been greater towards the *South*, where we know little beyond *Thirty Five Degrees*, and that only by the Necessity of doubling the Cape of *Goodhope*, in our *East-India* Voyages;

ages ; yet a Continent has been long since found out, within Fifteen Degrees to *South*, and about the Length of *Java*, which is marked by the Name of *New Holland* in the Maps, and to what Extent none knows, either to the *South*, the *East*, of the *West* ; yet the Learned have been of Opinion , That there must be a Balance of Earth, on that side of the Line, in some Proportion to what there is on the other, and that it cannot be all *Sea*, from Thirty Degrees to the *South-Pole*, since we have found Land to above Sixty Five Degrees towards the *North*. But our Navigators that way , have been confined to the Roads of Trade ; and our Discoveries bounded by what we can manage to a certain Degree of Gain. And I have heard it said among the *Dutch*, that their *East-India* Company have long since forbidden, and under the greatest Penalties, any further Attempts of discovering that Continent, having already more Trade in those Parts than they can turn to Account , and fearing some more Populous Nation of *Europe*, might make great Establishments of Trade in some of those unknown

known Regions which might ruin or impair what they have already in the *Indies*.

Thus we are lame still in Geography it self, which we might have expected to run up to so much greater Perfection, by the Use of the Compass, and it seems to have been little advanced these last Hundred Years. So far have we been from improving upon those Advantages we have received, from the Knowledge of the Ancients, that since the late Restoration of Learning and Arts among us, our first Flights seem to have been the highest, and a sudden Damp to have fallen upon our Wings, which has hindered us from rising above certain Heights. The Arts of Painting and Statuary, began to revive with Learning in *Europe*, and made a great, but short Flight; so as for these last Hundred Years, we have not had One Master in either of them, who deserved a Rank with those that flourished in that short Period, after they began among us.

It were too great a Mortification to think, That the same Fate has happened to us, even in our Modern Learning,

Learning, as if the Growth of that, as well as of Natural Bodies, had some short Periods, beyond which it could not reach, and after which, it must begin to decay. It falls in one Countrey or one Age, and rises again in others, but never beyond a certain Pitch. One Man, or one Countrey, at a certain Time runs a great Length in some certain Kinds of Knowledge, but lose as much Ground in others, that were perhaps as useful and as valuable. There is a certain Degree of Capacity in the greatest Vessel, and when 'tis full, if you pour in still, it must run out some way or other, and the more it runs out on one side, the less runs out at the other. So the greatest Memory, after a certain Degree, as it learns or retains more of some Things or Words, loses and forgets as much of others. The largest and deepest Reach of Thought, the more it pursues some certain Subjects, the more it neglects others.

Besides, few Men or none excel in all Faculties of Mind. A great Memory may fail of Invention, both may want Judgment to Digest or Apply what they Remember or Invent. Great
Courage

Courage may want Caution, great Prudence may want Vigor, yet all are necessary to make a great Commander. But how can a Man hope to excel in all Qualities, when some are produced by the Heat, others by the Coldness of Brain and Temper? The Abilities of Man must fall short on one side or other, like too scanty a Blanket when you are a-bed, if you pull it upon your Shoulders, you leave your Feet bare; if you thrust it down upon your Feet, your Shoulders are uncovered.

But what would we have, unless it be other Natures and Beings than God Almighty has given us? The Height of our Statures may be Six or Seven Foot, and we would have it Sixteen; the Length of our Age may reach to a Hundred Years, and we would have it a Thousand. We are born to grovel upon the Earth, and we would fain fore up to the Skies. We cannot comprehend the Growth of a Kernel or Seed, the Frame of an *Ant* or *Bee*, we are amazed at the Wisdom of the one, and Industry of the other, and yet we will know the Substance, the Figure, the Courses, the Influences of
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all those Glorious Cœlestial Bodies, and the End for which they were made; we pretend to give a clear Account how Thunder and Lightning (that great Artillery of God Almighty) is produced, and we cannot comprehend how the Voice of a Man is framed, that poor little noise we make every time we speak. The Motion of the Sun, is plain and evident to some Astronomers, and of the Earth to others, yet we none of us know, which of them moves, and meet with many seeming Impossibilities in both, and beyond the Fathom of Human Reason or Comprehension. Nay, we do not so much as know what Motion is, nor how a Stone moves from our Hand, when we throw it cross the Street. Of all these that most Ancient and Divine Writer, gives the best Account in that short Satyr, *Vain Man would fain be wise, when he is born like a Wild Ass's Colt.*

But God be thanked, his Pride is greater than his Ignorance; and what he wants in Knowledge, he supplies by Sufficiency. When he has looked about him as far as he can, he concludes there is no more to be seen; when he is at
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the End of his Line, he is at the Bottom of the Ocean ; when he has shot his best, he is sure, none ever did nor ever can shoot better or beyond it. His own Reason is the certain measure of Truth, his own Knowledge, of what is possible in Nature, though his Mind and his Thoughts change every Seven Years, as well as his Strength and his Features ; nay, though his Opinions change every Week or every Day, yet he is sure, or at least confident, that his present Thoughts and Conclusions are just and true, and cannot be deceived ; And among all the Miseries, to which Mankind is born and subjected , in the whole Course of his Life, he has this one Felicity to Comfort and Support him, That in all Ages, in all Things, every Man is always in the right. A Boy of Fifteen is wiser than his Father at Forty, the meanest Subject than his Prince or Governours ; and the Modern Scholars, because they have for a Hundred Years past, learned their Lesson pretty well, are much more knowing than the Ancients their Masters.

But let it be so, and proved by good Reasons, Is it so by Experience too ?

too? Have the Studies, the Writings, the Productions of *Gresham College*, or the late Academies of *Paris*, outshined or eclipsed the *Lycæum* of *Plato*, the Academy of *Aristotle*, the *Stoa* of *Zeno*, the Garden of *Epicurus*? Has *Harvey* out-done *Hippocrates*, or *Wilkins*, *Archimedes*? Are *D'Avila's* and *Strada's* Histories beyond those of *Herodotus* and *Livy*? Are *Sleyden's* Commentaries beyond those of *Cæsar*? The Flights of *Boileau* above those of *Virgil*? If all this must be allowed, I will then yield *Gondibert* to have excelled *Homer*, as it pretended; and the Modern *French* Poetry, all that of the Ancients. And yet, I think, it may be as reasonably said, That the Plays in *Moor-Fields* are beyond the *Olympick* Games; A *Welsh* or *Irish* Harp excels those of *Orpheus* and *Arion*; The Pyramid in *London*, those of *Memphis*; and the *French* Conquests in *Flanders* are greater than those of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, as their Operas and Panegyricks would make us believe.

But the Consideration of Poetry ought to be a Subject by it self. For the Books we have in Prose, Do any
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of the modern we converse with, appear of such a Spirit and Force, as if they would live longer than the Ancient have done? If our Wit and Eloquence, our Knowledge or Inventions would deserve it, yet our Languages would not; there is no hope of their lasting long, nor of any thing in them, they change every Hundred Years so as to be hardly known for the same, or any thing of the former Stiles to be endured by the latter; so as they can no more last like the Ancients, than excellent Carvings in Wood, like those in Marble or Brass.

The three modern Tongues most esteemed, are *Italian*, *Spanish* and *French*; all imperfect Dialects of the Noble *Roman*; first mingled and corrupted with the harsh Words and Terminations of those many different and barbarous Nations, by whose Invasions and Excursions, the *Roman* Empire was long infested: They were afterwards made up into these several Languages, by long and Popular Use, out of those Ruins and Corruptions of *Latin*, and the prevailing Languages of those Nations, to which these several Provinces came in time to be most and longest subjected

jected (as the *Goths* and *Moors* in *Spain*, the *Goths* and *Lombards* in *Italy*, the *Franks* in *Gaul*) besides a Mingle of those Tongues, which were Original to *Gaul* and to *Spain*, before the *Roman* Conquests and Establishments there. Of these, there may be some Remainders in *Biscay* or the *Asturias*; but I doubt, whether there be any of the old *Gallick* in *France*, the Subjection there having been more universal, both to the *Romans* and *Franks*. But I do not find, the Mountainous Parts on the *North* of *Spain*, were ever wholly subdued, or formerly Governed, either by the *Romans*, *Goths*, or *Saracens*, no more than *Wales* by *Romans*, *Saxons*, or *Normans*, after their Conquests in our Islands, which has preserved the ancient *Biscayn* and *British* more intire, than any Native Tongue of other Provinces, where the *Roman* and *Gothick* or *Northern* Conquests reached, and were for any time Established.

'Tis easie to imagine, how imperfect Copies these modern Languages, thus composed, must needs be, of so excellent an Original, being patcht up out of the Conceptions as well as Sounds, of such barbarous or enslaved
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People. Whereas the *Latin* was framed or cultivated by the Thoughts and Uses of the Noblest Nation that appears upon any Record of Story, and enriched only by the Spoils of *Greece*, which alone could pretend to contest it with them. 'Tis obvious enough, what rapport there is, and must ever be, between the Thoughts and Words, the Conceptions and Languages of every Country, and how great a Difference this must make in the Comparison and Excellence of Books; and how easie and just a Preference it must decree to those of the *Greek* and *Latin*, before any of the Modern Languages.

It may, perhaps, be further affirmed, in Favour of the Ancients, that the oldest Books we have, are still in their kind the best. The two most ancient, that I know of in Prose, among those we call Profane Authors, are *Æsop's* Fables, and *Phalaris's* Epistles, both living near the same time, which was that of *Cyrus* and *Pythagoras*. As the first has been agreed by all Ages since, for the greatest Master in his kind, and all others of that Sort have been but Imita-

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ons of his Original ; so I think the Epistles of *Phalaris*, to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others I have ever seen, either Ancient or Modern. I know several Learned Men (or that usually pass for such, under the Name of Criticks) have not esteemed them Genuine, and *Politian* with some others, have attributed them to *Lucian*: But I think, he must have little Skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be an Original ; such Diversity of Passions, upon such Variety of Actions and Passages of Life and Government, such Freedom of Thought, such Boldness of Expression, such Bounty to his Friends, such Scorn of his Enemies, such Honour of Learned Men, such Esteem of Good, such Knowledge of Life, such Contempt of Death, with such Fierceness of Nature and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be represented, but by him that possessed them ; and I esteem *Lucian* to have been no more capable of Writing, than of Acting what *Phalaris* did. In all one Writ, you find the Scholar or the Sophist ; and in all the other, the Tyrant and the Commander.

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The next to these in Time, are *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, and *Aristotle*; of whom I shall say no more, than what I think is allowed by all, that they are in their several kinds, inimitable. So are *Cæsar*, *Salust*, and *Cicero*, in theirs, who are the Ancientest of the Latin, (I speak still of Prose) unless it be some little of old *Cato*, upon Rustick Affairs.

The Height and Purity of the *Roman* Stile, as it began towards the Time of *Lucretius*, which was about that of the *Jugurthin* War; so it ended about that of *Tiberius*; and the last Strain of it seems to have been *Vel-leius Paterculus*. The Purity of the *Greek* lasted a great deal longer, and must be allowed till *Trajan's* Time, when *Plutarch* wrote, whole *Greek* is much more estimable, than the Latin of *Tacitus* his Contemporary. After this last, I know none that deserves the Name of *Latin*, in comparison of what went before them, especially in the *Augustan* Age; If any, 'tis the little Treatise of *Minutius Félix*. All Latin Books that we have till the end of *Trajan*, and all *Greek* till

till the end of *Marcus Antoninus*, have a true and very estimable Value. All written since that time, seem to me to have little more than what comes from the Relation of Events, we are glad to know, or the Controversie of Opinions in Religion or Laws, wherein the busie World has been so much employed.

The great Wits among the Moderns have been, in my Opinion, and in their several Kinds, of the *Italians*, *Boccace*, *Machiavel*, and *Padre Paolo*; among the *Spaniards*, *Cervantes*, (that writ *Don Quixot*) and *Guevara*; among the *French*, *Rablais*, and *Montagne*; among the *English*, *Sir Philip Sidney*, *Bacon* and *Selden*: I mention nothing of what is written upon the Subject of Divinity, wherein the *Spanish* and *English* Pens have been most Conversant, and most Excelled. The Modern *French*, are *Voiture*, *Rochfaucalt's* Memoirs, *Buffy's Amours de Gaul*, with several other little Relations or Memoirs that have run this Age, which are very pleasant and entertaining, and seem to have Refined the *French* Language to a Degree, that cannot be well exceeded. I doubt it may have happened there, as it does

in all Works, that the more they are filed and polished, the less they have of Weight and of Strength; and as that Language has much more Fineness and Smoothness at this time, so I take it to have had much more Force, Spirit and Compass, in *Montagne's* Age.

Since those Accidents, which contributed to the Restoration of Learning, almost extinguished in the *Western* Parts of *Europe*, have been observed, it will be just to mention some that may have hindered the Advancement of it, in Proportion to what might have been expected from the mighty Growth and Progress made in the first Age after its Recovery. One great Reason may have been, that very soon after the Entry of Learning upon the Scene of Christendom, another was made by many of the New-Learned Men, into the Inquiries and Contests about Matters of Religion; the Manners and Maxims, and Institutions introduced by the Clergy, for Seven or Eight Centuries past; the Authority of Scripture and Tradition; of Popes and of Councils; of the Ancient Fathers, and of the Later School-Men and Casuists;

Casuits; of Ecclesiastical and Civil Power. The Humour of ravelling into all these Mystical or Intangled Matters, mingling with the Interests and Passions of Princes and of Parties, and thereby heightened or enflamed, produced Infinite Disputes, raised Violent Heats throughout all Parts of Christendom, and soon ended in many Defections or Reformatiions from the *Roman Church*, and in several new Institutions, both Ecclesiastical and Civil, in divers Countries; which have been since Rooted and Established in almost all the *North West* Parts. The endless Disputes and litigious Quarrels upon all these Subjects, favoured and encouraged by the Interests of the several Princes ingaged in them, either took up wholly, or generally imployed the Thoughts, the Studies, the Applications, the Endeavours of all or most of the Finest Wits, the Deepest Scholars, and the most Learned Writers that the Age produced. Many Excellent Spirits, and the most Penetrating *Genii*, that might have made admirable Progresses and Advances in many other Sciences, were sunk and overwhelmed in the Abyss of Disputes

about Matters of Religion, without ever turning their Looks or Thoughts any other way. To these Disputes of the Pen, succeeded those of the Sword; and the Ambition of great Princes and Ministers, mingled with the Zeal, or covered with the Pretences of Religion, has for a Hundred Years past, infested Christendom with almost a perpetual Course or Succession, either of Civil or of Foreign Wars: The Noise and Disorders thereof, have been ever the most Capital Enemies of the *Muses*, who are seated by the Ancient Fables, upon the Top of *Parnassus*; that is, in a Place of Safety and of Quiet, from the Reach of all Noises and Disturbances of the Regions below.

Another Circumstance that may have hindred the Advancement of Learning, has been a Want or Decay of Favour in Great Kings and Princes, to Encourage or Applaud it. Upon the first Return or Recovery of this fair Stranger among us, all were fond of Seeing her, apt to Applaud her: She was lodged in Palaces instead of Cells; and the greatest Kings and Princes of the Age, took either a Pleasure in courting her, or a Vanity in admiring her,

her, and in favouring all her Train. The Courts of *Italy* and *Germany*, of *England*, of *France*, of *Popes*, and of *Emperors*, thought themselves Honoured and Adorned, by the Number and Qualities of Learned Men, and by all the Improvements of Sciences and Arts, wherein they excelled. They were invited from all Parts, for the Use and Entertainment of Kings, for the Education and Instruction of Young Princes, for Advice and Assistance to the greatest Ministers; and in short, the Favour of Learning was the Humor and Mode of the Age. *Francis* the First, *Charles* the Fifth, and *Henry* the Eighth (those Three Great Rivals) agreed in this, though in nothing else. Many Nobles pursued this Vein with great Application and Success; among whom, *Picus de Mirandula*, a Sovereign Prince in *Italy*, might have proved a Prodigy of Learning, if his Studies and Life had lasted as long as those of the Ancients: For I think all of them that writ much of what we have now remaining, lived old, whereas he dyed about Three and Thirty, and left the World in Admiration of so much Knowledge in so much Youth.

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Since those Reigns I have not observed in our Modern Story, any Great Princes much celebrated for their Favour of Learning, further than to serve their Turns, to justify their Pretensions and Quarrels, or flatter their Successes. The Honour of Princes has of late struck Sale to their Interest; whereas of old, their Interests, Greatness and Conquests, were all dedicated to their Glory and Fame.

How much the Studies and Labours of Learned Men, must have been damped for want of this Influence and kind Aspect of Princes, may be best conjectured from what happened on the contrary, about the *Augustan* Age, when the Learning of *Rome* was at its Height, and perhaps owed it in some Degree, to the Bounty and Patronage of that Emperor, and *Mecænas* his Favourite, as well as to the Felicity of the Empire, and Tranquility of the Age.

The Humor of Avarice, and Greediness of Wealth, have been ever, and in all Countries, where Silver and Gold have been in Price, and of current Use: But if it be true in particular Men, that as Riches increase, the Desires of them

them do so too, May it not be true, of the general Vein and Humor of Ages? May they not have turned more to this Pursuit of insatiable Gains, since the Discoveries and Plantations of the *West-Indies*, and those vast Treasures that have flowed in to these *Western* Parts of *Europe* almost every Year, and with such mighty Tides for so long a Course of Time? Where few are Rich, few care for it; where many are so, many desire it; and most in time begin to think it necessary. Where this Opinion grows generally in a Country, the Temples of Honour are soon pulled down, and all Mens Sacrifices are made to those of Fortune. The Soldier as well as the Merchant, the Scholar as well as the Ploughman, the Divine and the States-man, as well as the Lawyer and Physician.

Now I think that nothing is more evident in the World, than that Honour is a much stronger Principle, both of Action and Invention, than Gain can ever be. That all the Great and Noble Productions of Wit and of Courage, have been inspired and exalted by that alone. That the Charming Flights and Labours of Poets, the Deep
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Speculations and Studies of Philosophers, the Conquests of Emperors and Achievements of Heroes, have all flowed from this one Source of Honour and Fame. The last Farewel that *Horace* takes of his Lyrick Poems, *Epicurus* of his Inventions in Philosophy, *Augustus* of his Empire and Government, are all of the same Strain; and as their Lives were entertained, so their Age was relieved, and their Deaths softned, by the Prospect of lieing down upon the Bed of Fame.

Avarice is on the other side, of all Passions, the most fordid, the most clogged and covered with Dirt and with Dross, so that it cannot raise its Wings beyond the Smell of the Earth: 'Tis the Pay of Common Soldiers, as Honour is of Commanders; and yet among those themselves, none ever went so far upon the Hopes of Prey or of Spoils, as those that have been spirited by Honour or Religion. 'Tis no Wonder then, that Learning has been so little advanced since it grew to be Mercenary, and the Progress of it has been fettered by the Cares of the World, and disturbed by the Desires of being Rich, or the
Fears

Fears of being poor ; from all which, the Ancient *Philosophers*, the *Brachmans* of *India*, the *Chaldean Magi*, and *Egyptian Priests* were disintangled and free.

But the last Maim given to Learning, has been by the Scorn of Pedantry, which the Shallow, the Superficial, and the Sufficient among Scholars, first drew upon themselves, and very justly, by pretending to more than they had, or to more Esteem than what they had could deserve, by broaching it in all Places, at all Times, upon all Occasions, and by living so much among themselves, or in their Closets and Cells, as to make them unfit for all other Business, and ridiculous in all other Conversations. As an Infection that rises in a Town, first falls upon Children or weak Constitutions, or those that are subject to other Diseases, but spreading further by degrees, seizes upon the most Healthy, Vigorous and Strong ; and when the Contagion grows very general, all the Neighbours avoid coming into the Town, or are afraid of those that are well among them, as much as of those that are Sick. Just so it fared in the Common-

monwealth of Learning, some poor weak Constitutions were first infected with Pedantry, the Contagion spread in time upon some that were stronger; Foreigners that heard there was a Plague in the Country, grew afraid to come there, and avoided the Commerce of the Sound as well as of the Diseased. This Dislike or Apprehension, turned, like all Fear, to Hatred, and Hatred to Scorn. The rest of the Neighbours began first to rail at Pedants, then to ridicule them; the Learned began to fear the same Fate, and that the Pigeons should be taken for Daws, because they were all in a Flock: And because the Poorest and Meanest of the Company were Proud, the Best and the Richest began to be Ashamed.

An Ingenious *Spaniard* at *Brassels*, would needs have it, that the History of *Don Quixot*, had ruined the *Spanish* Monarchy; for before that time, Love and Valour, were all Romance among them; every young Cavalier that entered the Scene, dedicated the Services of his Life, to his Honour first, and then to his Mistress. They Lived and Dyed in this Romantick Vein; and the old Duke of *Alva*, in his last *Portugal* Expedition,

dition, had a young Mistress, to whom the Glory of that Atchievement was Devoted, by which he hoped to value himself, instead of those Qualities he had lost with his Youth. After *Don Quixot* appeared, and with that inimitable Wit and Humor, turned all this Romantick Honour and Love into Ridicule ; the *Spaniards*, he said, began to grow ashamed of both, and to laugh at Fighting and Loving ; or at least otherwise, than to pursue their Fortune, or satisfy their Lust ; and the Consequences of this, both upon their Bodies and their Minds, this *Spaniard* would needs have pass for a great Cause of the Ruin of *Spain*, or of its Greatness and Power.

Whatever Effect the Ridicule of Knight-Errantry might have had upon that Monarchy, I believe that of Pedantry has had a very ill one upon the Commonwealth of Learning ; and I wish the Vein of Ridiculing all that is Serious and Good, all Honour and Virtue, as well as Learning and Piety, may have no worse Effects on any other State : 'Tis the Itch of our Age and Climate, and has over-run both the Court and the Stage ; enters a House
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of Lords and Commons, as boldly as a *Coffee-House*, Debates of Council as well as private Conversation; and I have known in my Life, more than one or two Ministers of State, that would rather have said a Witty thing, than done a Wise one; and made the Company Laugh, rather than the Kingdom Rejoyce. But this is enough to excuse the Imperfections of Learning in our Age, and to censure the Sufficiency of some of the Learned; and this small Piece of Justice I have done the Ancients, will not I hope, be taken any more than 'tis meant, for any Injury to the Moderns.

I shall conclude with a Saying of *Alphonfus* (Surnamed the Wise) King of *Aragon*;

That among so many things as are by Men possessed or pursued in the Course of their Lives, all the rest are Bawbles, besides Old Wood to Burn, Old Wine to Drink, Old Friends to Converse with, and Old Books to Read.

ESSAY

ESSAY II.

*Upon the Gardens of Epicurus ;
or of Gardening in the Year
1685.*

THE same Faculty of Reason, which gives Mankind the great Advantage and Prerogative over the rest of the Creation, seems to make the greatest Default of Human Nature; and subjects it to more Troubles, Miseries, or at least Disquiets of Life, than any of its Fellow-Creatures: 'Tis this furnishes us with such Variety of Passions, and consequently of Wants and Desires, that none other feels; and these followed by infinite Designs and endless Pursuits, and improved by that Restlessness of Thought, which is natural to most Men, give Him a Condition of Life suitable to that of His Birth; so that as He alone is born Crying, He lives Complaining, and dies Disappointed.

Since we cannot escape the Pursuit of Passions, and Perplexity of Thoughts,
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which our Reason furnishes us, there is no way left, but to endeavour all we can, either to subdue or to divert them. This last is the common Business of common Men, who seek it by all Sorts of Sports, Pleasures, Play or Business. But because the two first are of short Continuance, soon ending with Weariness, or Decay of Vigor and Appetite, the Return whereof must be attended, before the others can be renewed ; and because Play grows dull, if it be not enlivened with the Hopes of Gain, the general Diversion of Mankind seems to be Business, or the Pursuit of Riches in one Kind or other ; which is an Amusement, that has this one Advantage above all others, that it lasts those Men who engage in it, to the very Ends of their Lives ; none ever growing too old for the Thoughts and Desires of increasing his Wealth and Fortunes, either for Himself, his Friends, or his Posterity.

In the first and most simple Ages of each Country, the Conditions and Lives of Men seem to have been very near of Kin with the rest of the Creatures ; they lived by the Hour, or by the Day, and satisfied their Appetite with what they could get, from the Herbs, the Fruits, the Springs they met with when they were

were hungry or dry; then, with what Fish, Fowl, or Beasts they could kill, by Swiftneſs or Strength, by Craft or Contrivance, by their Hands or ſuch Inſtruments as Wit helped, or Neceſſity forced them to invent. When a Man had got enough for the Day, he laid up the reſt for the Morrow, and ſpent one Day in Labour, that he might paſs the other at Eaſe; and lured on by the Pleaſure of this Bait, when he was in Vigor, and his Game fortunate, he would provide for as many Days as he could, both for himſelf and his Children, that were too young to ſeek out for themſelves. Then he caſt about, how by ſowing of Grain, and by Paſture of the tamer Cattel, to provide for the whole Year. After this, dividing the Lands neceſſary for theſe Uſes, firſt among Children, and then among Servants, he reſerved to himſelf a Proportion of their Gain, either in the native Stock, or ſomething equivalent, which brought in the Uſe of Money; and where this once came in, none was to be ſatisfied, without having enough for himſelf and his Family, and all his and their Poſterity for ever; ſo that I know a certain Lord who profeſſes to value no Leaſe, though for an Hundred or a Thouſand Years, nor any

Estate or Possession of Land, that is not for Ever and Ever.

From such small Beginnings have grown such vast and extravagant Designs of poor Mortal Men: Yet none could ever answer the Naked Indian, Why one Man should take Pains, and run Hazards by Sea and Land all his Life, that his Children might be safe and lazy all theirs: And the Precept of taking no Care for to Morrow, though never minded as impracticable in the World, seems but to reduce Mankind to their Natural and Original Condition of Life. However, by these Ways and Degrees, the endless Increase of Riches seems to be grown the perpetual and general Amusement, or Business of Mankind.

Some few in each Country make those higher Flights after Honour and Power, and to these Ends sacrifice their Riches, their Labour, their Thought, and their Lives; and nothing diverts nor busies Men more, than these Pursuits, which are usually covered with the Pretences of serving a Man's Country, and of Publick Good. But the true Service of the Publick, is a Business of so much Labour and so much Care, that though a good and wise Man may not refuse it, if he be called to it by his Prince or his Country,

Country, and thinks he can be of more than Vulgar Use, yet he will seldom or never seek it, but leaves it commonly to Men, who under the Disguise of Publick Good, pursue their own Designs of Wealth, Power, and such Bastard Honours as usually attend them, not that which is the true, and only true Reward of Virtue.

The Pursuits of Ambition, though not so general, yet are as endless as those of Riches, and as extravagant; since none ever yet thought he had Power or Empire enough: And what Prince soever seems to be so great, as to Live and Reign without any further Desires or Fears, falls into the Life of a Private Man, and enjoys but those Pleasures and Entertainments, which a great many several Degrees of Private Fortune will allow, and as much as Human Nature is capable of enjoying.

The Pleasures of the Senses grow a little more choice and refined; those of Imagination are turned upon embellishing the Scenes he chuses to live in; Ease, Conveniency, Elegancy, Magnificence, are sought in Building first, and then in furnishing Houses or Palaces: The admirable Imitations of Nature are introduced by Pictures, Statues, Tapestry,

pestry, and other such Atchievements of Arts. And the most exquisite Delights of Sense are pursued, in the Contrivance and Plantation of Gardens; which, with Fruits, Flowers, Shades, Fountains, and the Musick of Birds that frequent such happy Places, seem to furnish all the Pleasures of the several Senses, and with the Greatest, or at least the most Natural Perfections.

Thus the first Race of *Affyrian* Kings, after the Conquests of *Ninus* and *Semiramis*, passed their Lives till their Empire fell to the *Medes*. Thus the *Caliphs* of *Egypt*, till deposed by their *Mama-lukes*. Thus passed the latter Parts of those Great Lives of *Scipio*, *Lucullus*, *Augustus*, *Dioclesian*. Thus turned the Great Thoughts of *Henry* the Second of *France*, after the end of his Wars with *Spain*. Thus the Present King of *Morocco*, after having subdued all his Competitors, passes his Life in a Country Villa, gives Audience in a Grove of Orange-Trees planted among purling Streams. And thus the King of *France*, after all the Successes of his Councils or Arms, and in the mighty Elevation of his present Greatness and Power, when he gives himself Leisure from such Designs or Pursuits, passes the softer and easier

easier Parts of his Time in ~~the~~ The Houses and Gardens, in Building, ~~of~~ it, ing, or Adorning the Scenes, or in ~~the~~ common Sports and Entertainments of such kind of Lives. And those mighty Emperors, who contented not themselves with these Pleasures of common Humanity, fell into the Frantick or the Extravagant; they pretended to be Gods, or turned to be Devils, as *Caligula*, and *Nero*, and too many others known enough in Story.

Whilst Mankind is thus generally busied or amused, that Part of them, who have had either the Justice or the Luck, to pass in common Opinion for the Wisest and the Best Part among them, have followed another and very different Scent; and instead of the common Designs of satisfying their Appetites and their Passions, and making endless Provisions for both, they have chosen what they thought a nearer and a surer way to the Ease and Felicity of Life, by endeavouring to subdue, or at least to temper their Passions, and reduce their Appetites to what Nature seems only to ask and to need. And this Design seems to have brought Philosophy into the World, at least that which is termed Moral, and appears to have an End,

not only desirable by every Man, which is the Ease and Happiness of Life, but also in some Degree suitable to the Force and Reach of Human Nature : For as to that Part of Philosophy, which is called Natural, I know no End it can have, but that of either busying a Man's Brains to no Purpose, or satisfying the Vanity, so natural to most Men, of distinguishing themselves by some way or other, from those that seem their Equals in Birth, and the common Advantages of it ; and whether this Distinction be made by Wealth or Power, or Appearance of Knowledge, which gains Esteem and Applause in the World, is all a case. More than this, I know no Advantage Mankind has gained by the Progress of Natural Philosophy, during so many Ages it has had Vogue in the World, excepting always, and very justly, what we owe to the Mathematicks, which is in a manner all that seems valuable among the Civilized Nations, more than those we call Barbarous, whether they are so or no, or more so than our selves.

How ancient this Natural Philosophy has been in the World, is hard to know ; for we find frequent mention of ancient Philosophers in this kind, among the
most

most ancient now extant with us. The first who found out the Vanity of it, seems to have been *Solomon*, of which Discovery he has left such admirable Strains in *Ecclesiastes*. The next was *Socrates*, who made it the Business of his Life to explode it, and introduce that which we call Moral in its place, to busie Human Minds to better purpose. And indeed, whoever reads with Thought what these two, and *Marcus Antoninus*, have said upon the Vanity of all that Mortal Man can ever attain to know of Nature, in its Originals, or Operations, may save himself a great deal of Pains, and justly conclude, That the Knowledge of such things is not our Game; and (like the Pursuit of a Stag by a little Spaniel) may serve to amuse and to weary us, but will never be hunted down. Yet I think those Three I have named, may justly pass for the wisest Triumvirate that are left us, upon the Records of Story or of Time.

After *Socrates*, who left nothing in Writing, many Sects of Philosophers began to spread in *Greece*, who entred boldly upon both Parts of Natural and Moral Philosophy. The first with the greatest Disagreement, and the most eager Contention that could be upon the
great-

greatest Subjects : As, Whether the World were Eternal, or produced at some certain time ? Whether if produced, it was by some Eternal Mind, and to some End, or by the fortuitous Concurrence of Atoms, or some Particles of Eternal Matter ? Whether there was one World or many ? Whether the Soul of Man was a Part of some Æthereal and Eternal Substance, or was Corporeal ? Whether if Eternal, it was so before it came into the Body, or only after it went out ? There were the same Contentions about the Motions of the Heavens, the Magnitude of the Cœlestial Bodies, the Faculties of the Mind, and the Judgment of the Senses. But all the different Schemes of Nature that have been drawn of old, or of late by *Plato, Aristotle, Epicurus, Des Cartes, Hobbs*, or any other that I know of, seem to agree but in one thing, which is, the Want of Demonstration or Satisfaction, to any thinking and unpossessed Man ; and seem more or less probable one than another, according to the Wit and Eloquence of the Authors and Advocates that raise or defend them ; like Juglers Tricks, that have more or less Appearance of being real, according to the Dextrousness and Skill of him that plays 'em ; whereas
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perhaps if we were capable of knowing Truth and Nature, these fine Schemes would prove like Rover Shots, some nearer and some further off, but all at great Distance from the Mark ; it may be none in Sight.

Yet in the midst of these and many other such Disputes and Contentions in their Natural Philosophy, they seemed to agree much better in their Moral ; and upon their Enquiries after the Ultimate End of Man, which was his Happiness, their Contentions or Differences seem'd to be rather in Words, than in the Sense of their Opinions, or in the true Meaning of their several Authors or Masters of their Sects : All concluded, that Happiness was the Chief Good, and ought to be the Ultimate End of Man ; that as this was the End of Wisdom, so Wisdom was the Way to Happiness. The Question then was, In what this Happiness consisted ? The Contention grew warmest between the Stoicks and Epicureans ; the other Sects in this Point siding in a manner with one or the other of these, in their Conceptions or Expressions. The Stoicks would have it to consist in Virtue, and the Epicureans in Pleasure ; yet the most reasonable of the Stoicks, made the Pleasure of Virtue to be

be the greatest Happiness ; and the best of the Epicureans made the greatest Pleasure to consist in Virtue ; and the Difference between these two, seems not easily discovered : All agreed, the greatest Temper, if not the total subduing of Passion, and exercise of Reason, to be the State of the greatest Felicity : To live without Desires or Fears, or those Perturbations of Mind and Thought, which Passions raise : To place true Riches in wanting little, rather than in possessing much ; and true Pleasure in Temperance, rather than in satisfying the Senses : To live with Indifference to the common Enjoyments and Accidents of Life, and with Constancy upon the greatest Blows of Fate or of Chance ; not to disturb our Minds with sad Reflections upon what is past, nor with anxious Cares or raving Hopes about what is to come ; neither to disquiet Life with the Fears of Death, nor Death with the Desires of Life : but in both, and in all things else, to follow Nature, seem to be the Precepts most agreed among them.

Thus Reason seems only to have been called in, to allay those Disorders which it self had raised, to cure its own Wounds, and pretends to make us wise no other way, than by rendring us insensible.

This

This at least was the Profession of many rigid Stoicks, who would have had a wise Man, not only without any sort of Passion, but without any Sense of Pain; as well as Pleasure; and to enjoy himself in the midst of Diseases and Torments, as well as of Health and Ease: A Principle, in my Mind, against common-Nature and common Sense; and which might have told us in fewer Words, or with less Circumstance, that a Man to be wise, should not be a Man; and this perhaps might have been easie enough to believe, but nothing so hard as the other.

The Epicureans were more intelligible in their Notion, and fortunate in their Expression, when they placed a Man's Happiness in the Tranquility of Mind, and Indolence of Body; for while we are composed of both, I doubt both must have a Share in the Good or Ill we feel. As Men of several Languages, say the same things in very different Words, so in several Ages, Countries, Constitutions of Laws and Religion, the same thing seems to be meant by very different Expressions: What is called by the Stoicks Apathy, or Dispassion; by the Scepticks Indisturbance; by the Molinists Quiescence; by common Men, Peace of Conscience; seems all to mean but great Tran-

Tranquility of Mind, though it be made to proceed from so diverse Causes, as **Human Wisdom**, **Innocence of Life**, or **Resignation to the Will of God**. An old Usurer had the same Notion when he said, No Man could have Peace of Conscience, that run out of his Estate; not comprehending what else was meant by that Phrase, besides true Quiet and Content of Mind; which however expressed, is, I suppose, meant by all, to be the best Account that can be given of the Happiness of Man, since no Man can pretend to be happy without it.

I have often wondred, how such sharp and violent Invectives came to be made so generally against *Epicurus*, by the Ages that followed him, whose Admirable Wit, Felicity of Expression, Excellence of Nature, Sweetness of Conversation, Temperance of Life, and Constancy of Death, made him so beloved by his Friends, admired by his Scholars, and honoured by the *Athenians*. But this Injustice may be fastned chiefly upon the Envy and Malignity of the Stoicks at first, then upon the Mistakes of some gross Pretenders to his Sect, (who took Pleasure only to be sensual) and afterwards, upon the Piety of the Primitive Christians, who esteemed his Principles
of

of Natural Philosophy, more opposite to those of our Religion; than either the *Platonists*, the *Peripateticks*, or *Stoicks* themselves: Yet, I confess, I do not know why the Account given by *Lucretius* of the Gods, should be thought more Impious, than that given by *Homer*, who makes them not only subject to all the weakest Passions, but perpetually busie in all the worst or meanest Actions of Men.

But *Epicurus* has found so great Advocates of his Virtue, as well as Learning and Inventions, that there need no more; and the Testimonies of *Diogenes Laertius* alone, seem too sincere and impartial to be disputed, or to want the Assistance of Modern Authors: If all failed, he would be but too well defended by the Excellence of so many of his Sect in all Ages, and especially of those who lived in the Compass of one, but the greatest in Story, both as to Persons and Events: I need name no more than *Cæsar*, *Atticus*, *Mecenas*, *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Horace*; all admirable in their several Kinds, and perhaps unparallel'd in Story.

Cæsar, If consider'd in all Lights, may justly challenge the first Place in the Registers we have of Mankind, equal only to himself, and surpassing all others of his Nation and his Age, in the Virtues,
and

and Excellencies of a Statesman, a Captain, an Orator, an Historian; besides all these, a Poet, a Philosopher, when his Leisure allowed him; the Greatest Man of Counsel and of Action, of Design and Execution; the Greatest Nobleness of Birth, of Person and of Countenance; the Greatest Humanity and Clemency of Nature, in the midst of the Greatest Provocations, Occasions and Examples of Cruelty and Revenge: 'Tis true, he overturned the Laws and Constitutions of his Country, yet 'twas after so many others had not only begun, but proceeded very far, to change and violate them; so as in what he did, he seems rather to have prevented others, than to have done what himself designed; for though his Ambition was vast, yet it seems to have been raised to those Heights, rather by the Insolence of his Enemies, than by his own Temper; and that what was natural to him, was only a Desire of true Glory, and to acquire it by good Actions as well as great, by Conquests of barbarous Nations, extent of the *Roman* Empire; defending at first the Liberties of the *Plebeians*, opposing the Faction that had begun in *Sylla*, and ended in *Pompey*: And in the whole Course of his Victories and Successes,

seeking

seeking all Occasions of Bounty to his Friends, and Clemency to his Enemies.

Atticus appears to have been one of the Wifest and Best of the *Romans*; Learned without Pretending, Good without Affectation, Bountiful without Design, a Friend to all Men in Misfortune, a Flatterer to no Man in Greatness or Power, a Lover of Mankind, and Beloved by them all; and by these Virtues and Dispositions, he passed safe and untouched, through all the Flames of Civil Dissentions that ravag'd his Country the greatest Part of his Life; and though he never entred into any Publick Affairs, or Particular Factions of his State, yet he was Favoured, Honoured, and Courted by them all, from *Sylla* to *Augustus*.

Mecænas was the Wifest Counsellor, the Truest Friend, both of his Prince and his Country, the Best Governor of *Rome*, the Happiest and Ablest Negotiator, the Best Judge of Learning and Virtue, the Choicest in his Friends, and thereby the Happiest in his Conversation that has been known in Story; and I think, to his Conduct in Civil, and *Agrippa's* in Military Affairs, may be truly Ascribed all the Fortunes and Greatness of *Augustus*, so much Celebrated in the World.

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For *Lucretius*, *Virgil* and *Horace*, they deserve in my Opinion, the Honour of the Greatest Philosophers, as well as the Best Poets of their Nation or Age. The Two first, besides what looks like something more than Human in their Poetry, were very Great Naturalists, and admirable in their Morals: And *Horace*, besides the Sweetness and Elegancy of his Lyricks, appears in the rest of his Writings, so great a Master of Life, and of true Sense in the Conduct of it, that I know none beyond him. It was no mean Strain of his Philosophy, to refuse being Secretary to *Augustus*, when so Great an Emperor so much desired it. But all the different Sects of Philosophers, seem to have agreed in the Opinion, of a Wise Man's abstaining from Publick Affairs, which is thought the Meaning of *Pythagoras's* Precept; To abstain from Beans, by which the Affairs or Publick Resolutions in *Athens* were managed. They thought that Sort of Business too gross and material for the abstracted Fineness of their Speculations. They esteemed it too sordid and too artificial for the Cleanness and Simplicity of their Manners and Lives. They would have no Part in the Faults of a Government; and they knew

too well, that the Nature and Passions of Men made them incapable of any that was Perfect and Good; and therefore thought all the Service they could do to the State they lived under, was to mend the Lives and Manners of particular Men that composed it. But where Factions were once entred and rooted in a State, they thought it Madness for good Men to meddle with Publick Affairs; which made them turn their Thoughts and Entertainments to any thing rather than this: And *Heraclitus* having upon the Factions of the Citizens, quitted the Government of his City, and amusing himself, to play with the Boys in the Porch of the Temple, ask'd those who wondred at him, *Whether 'twas not better to play with such Boys, than govern such Men?* But above all, they esteemed Publick Business the most contrary of all others, to that Tranquility of Mind, which they esteemed and taught, to be the only true Felicity of Man.

For this Reason *Epicurus* passed his Life wholly in his Garden; there he Studied, there he Exercised, there he taught his Philosophy; and indeed, no other sort of Abode seems to contribute so much, to both the Tranquility of

G 2

Mind,

Mind, and Indolence of Body, which he made his Chief Ends. The Sweetness of Air, the Pleasantness of Smells, the Verdure of Plants, the Cleanness and Lightness of Food, the Exercises of Working or Walking; but above all, the Exemption from Cares and Sollicitude, seem equally to favour and improve both Contemplation and Health, the Enjoyment of Sense and Imagination, and thereby the Quiet and Ease both of the Body and Mind.

Though *Epicurus* be said to have been the first that had a Garden in *Athens*, whose Citizens before him, had theirs in their Villages or Farms without the City; yet the Use of Gardens seems to have been the most Ancient and most General of any Sorts of Possession among Mankind, and to have preceded those of Corn or of Cattel, as yielding the easier, the pleasanter, and more natural Food. As it has been the Inclination of Kings, and the Choice of Philosophers, so it has been the common Favourite of Publick and Private Men; a Pleasure of the Greatest, and the Care of the Meanest; and indeed, an Employment and a Possession, for which no Man is too High nor too Low.

If we believe the Scripture, we must allow

allow that God Almighty esteemed the Life of a Man in a Garden, the happiest he could give him, or else he would not have placed *Adam* in that of *Eden*; that it was the State of Innocence and Pleasure; and that the Life of Husbandry and Cities, came in after the Fall, with Guilt and with Labour.

Where Paradise was, has been much debated, and little agreed; but what sort of Place is meant by it, may perhaps easier be conjectured. It seems to have been a *Persian* Word, since *Zenophon* and other Greek Authors mention it, as what was much in Use and Delight among the Kings of those *Eastern* Countries. *Strabo* describing *Fericho*, says, *Ibi est palmetum, cui immixte sunt, etiam aliæ stirpes hortenses, locus ferax, palmis abundans, spatio stadiorum centum, totus irriguus, ibi est Regia & Balsami Paradisus.* He mentions another Place, to be *prope Libanum & Paradisum.* And *Alexander* is written to have seen *Cyrus's* Tomb in a Paradise, being a Tower not very great, and covered with a Shade of Trees about it. So that a Paradise among them seems to have been a large Space of Ground, adorned and beautified with all Sorts of Trees, both of Fruits and of Forest, either found there before it was

G 3 inclosed,

inclosed, or planted after; either cultivated like Gardens, for Shades and for Walks, with Fountains or Streams, and all Sorts of Plants usual in the Climate, and pleasant to the Eye, the Smell, or the Taste; or else imployed, like our Parks, for Inclosure and Harbour of all Sorts of Wild Beasts, as well as for the Pleasure of Riding and Walking: And so they were of more or less Extent, and of differing Entertainment, according to the several Humors of the Princes that ordered and inclosed them.

Semiramis is the first we are told of in Story, that brought them in Use through her Empire, and was so fond of them, as to make one where ever she built, and in all, or most of the Provinces she subdued; which are said to have been from *Babylon* as far as *India*. The *Assyrian* Kings continued this Custom and Care, or rather this Pleasure, till one of them brought in the Use of smaller and more regular Gardens: For having married a Wife he was fond of, out of one of the Provinces, where such Paradises or Gardens were much in Use, and the Country Lady not well bearing the Air or Inclosure of the Palace in *Babylon* to which the *Assyrian* Kings used to confine themselves; he made her Gardens, not only
within

within the Palaces, but upon Terraces raised with Earth, over the arched Roofs, and even upon the Top of the highest Tower, planted them with all Sorts of Fruit-Trees, as well as other Plants and Flowers, the most pleasant of that Country; and thereby made at least the most airy Gardens, as well as the most costly, that have been heard of in the World. This Lady may probably have been Native of the Provinces of *Chasimir*, or of *Damascus*, which have in all times been the happiest Regions for Fruits of all the *East*, by the Excellence of Soil, the Position of Mountains, the Frequency of Streams, rather than the Advantages of Climate. And 'tis great Pity we do not yet see the History of *Chasimir*, which *Monsieur Bernier* assured me he had translated out of *Persian*, and intended to Publish; and of which he has given such a Taste, in his excellent Memoirs of the *Mogul's* Country.

The next Gardens we read of, are those of *Solomon*, planted with all Sorts of Fruit-Trees, and watered with Fountains; and though we have no more particular Description of them, yet we may find, they were the Places where he passed the Times of his Leisure and Delight, where the Houses as well as

Grounds, were adorned with all that could be of pleasing and elegant, and were the Retreats and Entertainments of those among his Wives that he loved the best; and 'tis not improbable, that the Paradises mentioned by *Strabo*, were planted by this Great and Wisest King. But the Idea of the Garden must be very great, if it answers at all to that of the Gardiner, who must have imployed a great deal of his Care and of his Study, as well as of his Leisure and Thought in these Entertainments, since he writ of all Plants, from the Cedar to the Shrub.

What the Gardens of the *Hesperides* were, we have little or no Account, further than the Mention of them, and thereby the Testimony of their having been in Use and Request, in such Remoteness of Place, and Antiquity of Time.

The Garden of *Alcinous*, described by *Homer*, seems wholly Poetical, and made at the Pleasure of the Painter; like the rest of the Romantick Palace, in that little barren Island of *Phæacia* or *Corfu*. Yet as all the Pieces of this Transcendent Genius, are composed with excellent Knowledge, as well as Fancy; so they seldom fail of Instruction as well as Delight, to all that read him. The Seat of this Garden, joining to the Gates of the

the Palace, the Compass of the Inclosure, being Four Acres, the Tall Trees of Shade, as well as those of Fruit, the Two Fountains, one for the Use of the Garden, and the other of the Palace, the continual Succession of Fruits throughout the whole Year, are, for ought I know, the best Rules or Provisions that can go towards composing the Best Gardens; nor is it unlikely, that *Homer* may have drawn this Picture after the Life of some he had seen in *Ionia*, the Country and usual Abode of this Divine Poet; and indeed, the Region of the most refined Pleasures and Luxury, as well as Invention and Wit: For the Humor and Custom of Gardens may have descended earlier into the Lower *Asia*, from *Damascus*, *Assyria*, and other Parts of the *Eastern* Empires, though they seem to have made late Entrance, and smaller Improvement in those of *Greece* and *Rome*; at least in no Proportion to their other Inventions or Refinements of Pleasure and Luxury.

The long and flourishing Peace of the two first Empires, gave earlier Rise and Growth to Learning and Civility, and all the Consequences of them, in Magnificence and Elegancy of Building and Gardening; whereas *Greece* and *Rome* were

were almost perpetually engaged in Quarrels and Wars, either Abroad or at Home, and so were busie in Actions that were done under the Sun, rather than those under the Shade. These were the Entertainments of the softer Nations, that fell under the Virtue and Prowess of the two last Empires, which from those Conquests brought home mighty Increases both of Riches and Luxury, and so perhaps lost more than they got by the Spoils of the *East*.

There may be another Reason for the small Advance of Gardening in those excellent and more temperate Climates, where the Air and Soil were so apt of themselves to produce the best Sorts of Fruits, without the Necessity of cultivating them by Labour and Care; whereas the Hotter Climates, as well as the Cold, are forced upon Industry and Skill, to produce or improve many Fruits that grow of themselves in the more temperate Regions. However it were, we have very little Mention of Gardens in Old *Greece*, or in Old *Rome*, for Pleasure or with Elegance, nor of much Curiousness or Care, to introduce the Fruits of Foreign Climates, contenting themselves with those which were Native of their own; and these were the Vine, the Olive,

Olive, the Fig, the Pear, and the Apple: *Cato*, as I remember, mentions no more; and their Gardens were then but the necessary Part of their Farms, intended particularly for the cheap and easie Food of their Hinds or Slaves, imployed in their Agriculture, and so were turned chiefly to all the common Sorts of Plants, Herbs, or Legumes, (as the *French* call them) proper for common Nourishment; and the Name of *Hortus* is taken to be from *Ortus*, because it perpetually furnishes some Rise or Production of something new in the World.

Lucullus, after the *Mitbridatick* War, first brought Cherries from *Pontus* into *Italy*, which so generally pleas'd, and were so easily propagated in all Climates, that within the Space of about an Hundred Years, having travelled *Westward* with the *Roman* Conquests, they grew common as far as the *Rhine*, and passed over into *Britain*. After the Conquest of *Africk*, *Greece*, the *Lesser Asia*, and *Syria*, were brought into *Italy*, all the Sorts of their *Mala*, which we interpret Apples, and might signifie no more at first, but were afterwards applied to many other Foreign Fruits: The Apricocks coming from *Epire*, were called *Mala Epirotica*;
Peaches

Peaches from *Persia*, *Mala Persica* ; Citrons of *Media*, *Medica* ; Pomgranates from *Carthage*, *Punica* ; Quinces *Cathonea*, from a small Island in the *Grecian* Seas ; their best Pears were brought from *Alexandria*, *Numidia*, *Greece* and *Numantia* ; as appears by their several Appellations : Their Plums, from *Armenia*, *Syria*, but chiefly from *Damascus*. The Kinds of these are reckon'd in *Nero's* time, to have been near Thirty, as well as of Figs ; and many of them were entertained at *Rome* with so great Applause, and so general Vogue, that the great Captains, and even Consular Men, who first brought them over, took Pride in giving them their own Names, (by which they run a great while in *Rome*) as in Memory of some great Service or Pleasure they had done their Country ; so that not only Laws and Battels, but several Sorts of Apples or *Mala*, and of Pears, were called *Manlian* and *Claudian*, *Pompeyan* and *Tiberian* ; and by several other such Noble Names.

Thus the Fruits of *Rome*, in about an Hundred Years, came from Countries as far as their Conquests had reached ; and like Learning, Architecture, Painting and Statuary, made their great Advances in *Italy*, about the *Augustan* Age. What was
of

of most Request in their common Gardens in *Virgil's* time, or at least in his Youth, may be conjectured by the Description of his Old *Corician's* Garden, in the Fourth of the *Georgicks*; which begins,

Namq; sub Oebalia memini me turribus altis.

Among Flowers, the Roses had the first Place, especially a Kind which bore twice a Year; and none other Sorts are here mention'd besides the *Narcissus*, tho' the Violet and the Lily were very common, and the next in Esteem; especially the *Breve Lilium*, which was the *Tuberouse*. The Plants he mentions, are the *Apium*, which tho' commonly interpreted *Parsly*, yet comprehends all Sorts of Smallage, whereof Sellery is one; *Cucumis*, which takes in all Sorts of Melons, as well as Cucumbers; *Olus*, which is a common Word for all Sorts of Pot-Herbs and Legumes; *Verbenas*, which signifies all Kinds of Sweet or Sacred Plants that were used for Adorning the Altars; as Bays, Olive, Rosemary, Mirtle: The *Acantus* seems to be what we call *Pericanthe*; but what their *Hederæ* were, that deserv'd Place in a Garden, I cannot guess, unless they had Sorts of Ivy

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unknown to us; nor what his *Vescum Papaver* was, since Poppies with us are of no Use in eating. The Fruits mentioned, are only Apples, Pears, and Plums; for Olives, Vines and Figs, were grown to be Fruits of their Fields, rather than of their Gardens. The Shades were the Elm, the Pine, the Lime-Tree, and the *Platanus*, or Plane-Tree; whose Leaf and Shade, of all others, was the most in Request; and having been brought out of *Persia*, was such an Inclination among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, that they usually fed it with Wine instead of Water; they believed this Tree loved that Liquor, as well as those that used to drink under its Shade; which was a great Humor and Custom, and perhaps gave Rise to the other, by observing the Growth of the Tree, or Largeness of the Leaves, where much Wine was Spilt or left, and thrown upon the Roots.

'Tis great Pity the Haste which *Virgil* seems here to have been in, should have hindered him from entering farther into the Account or Instructions of Gardening, which he said he could have given, and which he seems to have so much esteemed and loved, by that admirable Picture of this Old Man's Felicity, which he draws like so great a Master, with
one

one Stroke of a Pencil in those Four Words:

Regum æquabat opes animis.

That in the midst of these small Possessions, upon a few Acres of Barren Ground, yet he equalled all the Wealth and Opulence of Kings, in the Ease, Content, and Freedom of his Mind.

I am not satisfied with the common Acceptation of the *Mala Aurea*, for Oranges; nor do I find any Passage in the Authors of that Age, which gives me the Opinion, that these were otherwise known to the *Romans* than as Fruits of the *Eastern* Climates. I should take their *Mala Aurea* to be rather some kind of Apples, so called from the Golden Colour, as some are amongst us; for otherwise, the Orange-Tree is too Noble in the Beauty, Taste and Smell of its Fruit; in the Perfume and Virtue of its Flowers; in the perpetual Verdure of its Leaves, and in the excellent Uses of all these, both for Pleasure and Health: Not to have deserved any particular Mention in the Writings of an Age and Nation, so refined and exquisite in all Sorts of Delicious Luxury.

The charming Description *Virgil* makes
of

of the happy Apple, must be intended either for the Citron, or for some Sort of Orange growing in *Media*, which was either so proper to that Country, as not to grow in any other, (as a certain Sort of Fig was to *Damascus*) or to have lost its Virtue by changing Soils, or to have had its Effect of curing some sort of Poison that was usual in that Country; but particular to it: I cannot forbear inserting those few Lines out of the Second of *Virgil's* Georgicks, not having ever heard any Body else take Notice of them.

*Media fert tristes succos tardumq; saporem
Fœtices Mali, quo non præsentibus ullum,
Pocula si quando sævæ infecere Novercæ,
Auxilium venit, ac membris agit atra vena;*

*Ipsa ingens arbor, faciemq; simillima lauro,
Et si non alios late jactaret odores,
Laurus erit, folia haud ullis labentia ventis
Flos apprima tenax, animas & olentia Medi
Ora fovent illo, ac senibus medicantur anhelis.*

Media brings pois'nous Herbs, and the flat taste

Of the bless'd Apple, than which ne'er was found

A Help more present, when curst Step-Dames mix

*Their mortal Cups, to drive the Venom out.
'Tis*

'Tis a large Tree, and like a Bays in Hue ;
 And did it not such Odours cast about,
 'Twou'd be a Bays, the Leaves with no Winds
 fall,

*The Flowers all excel : With these the Medes
 Perfume their Breaths, and cure old Purvie
 Men.*

The Tree being so like a Bays or Lawrel, the slow or dull Taste of the Apple, the Virtue of it against Poison, seem to describe the Citron. The Perfume of the Flowers and Virtues of them, to cure Ill Scents of Mouth or Breath, or Shortness of Wind in Purvie Old Men, seem to agree most with the Orange : If *Flos apprima tenax*, mean only the Excellence of the Flower above all others, it may be intended for the Orange : If it signifies the Flowers growing most upon the Tops of the Trees, it may be rather the Citron ; for I have been so curious as to bring up a Citron from a Kernel, which at Twelve Years of Age, began to flower ; and I observed all the Flowers to grow upon the Top Branches of the Tree, but to be nothing so High or Sweet-scented, as the Orange. On the other side, I have always heard Oranges to pass for a Cordial Juice, and a great Preservative against the Plague, which is a sort of Venom ;

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so

so that I know not to which of these we are to ascribe this lovely Picture of the happy Apple; but I am satisfied by it, that neither of them was at all common, if at all known in *Italy*, at that time, or long after, though the Fruit be now so frequent there in Fields, (at least in some Parts) and make so common and delicious a Part of Gardening, even in these *Northern* Climates.

'Tis certain those Noble Fruits, the Citron, the Orange and the Lemon, are the Native Product of those Noble Regions, *Affyria*, *Media* and *Persia*; and tho' they have been from thence transplanted and propagated in many Parts of *Europe*, yet they have not arrived at such Perfection in Beauty, Taste or Virtue, as in their Native Soil and Climate. This made it generally observed among the *Greeks* and *Romans*, That the Fruits of the *East* far excelled those of the *West*. And several Writers have trifled away their Time in deducing the Reasons of this Difference, from the more Benign or Powerful Influences of the Rising Sun. But there is nothing more evident to any Man that has the least Knowledge of the Globe, and gives himself Leave to think, than the Folly of such Wise Reasons, since the Regions that are *East* to us, are
West

West to some others; and the Sun rises alike to all that lie in the same Latitude, with the same Heat and Virtue upon its first Approaches, as well as in its Progress. Besides, if the *Eastern* Fruits were the better only for that Position of Climate, then those of *India* should excel those of *Persia*; which we do not find by comparing the Accounts of those Countries: But *Affyria*, *Media* and *Persia*, have been ever esteemed, and will be ever found the true Regions of the Best and Noblest Fruits in the World. The Reason of it can be no other, than that of an excellent and proper Soil, being there extended under the best Climate for the Production of all Sorts of the best Fruits; which seems to be from about Twenty five, to about Thirty five Degrees of Latitude. Now the Regions under this Climate in the present *Persian* Empire, (which comprehends most of the other Two, called anciently *Affyria* and *Media*) are composed of many Provinces full of great and fertile Plains, bounded by high Mountains, especially to the *North*; watered naturally with many Rivers, and those by Art and Labour derived into many more and smaller Streams, which all conspire to form a Country in all Circumstances, the

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most

most proper and agreeable for Production of the Best and Noblest Fruits. Whereas if we survey the Regions of the *Western* World, lying in the same Latitude between Twenty five and Thirty five Degrees, we shall find them extended either over the *Mediterranean* Sea, the Ocean, or the Sandy barren Countries of *Africa*; and that no Part of the Continent of *Europe* lies so *Southward* as Thirty five Degrees. Which may serve to discover the true genuine Reason, why the Fruits of the *East* have been always observed and agreed, to transcend those of the *West*.

In our *North-West* Climates, our Gardens are very different from what they were in *Greece* and *Italy*, and from what they are now in those Regions in *Spain*, or the *Southern* Parts of *France*. And as most general Customs in Countries, grow from the different Nature of Climates, Soils or Situations, and from the Necessities or Industry they impose, so do these.

In the warmer Regions, Fruits and Flowers of the best Sorts are so common, and of so easie Production, that they grow in Fields, and are not worth the Cost of Inclosing, or the Care of more than ordinary Cultivating. On the other side, the great Pleasures of those Climates
are

are Coolness of Air, and whatever looks cool even to the Eyes, and relieves them from the unpleasant Sight of Dusty Streets, or Parch'd Fields. This makes the Gardens of those Countries to be chiefly valued by Largeness of Extent, (which gives greater Play and Openness of Air) by Shades of Trees, by Frequency of Living Streams or Fountains, by Perspectives, by Statues, and by Pillars and Obelisks of Stone scattered up and down, which all conspire to make any Place look Fresh and Cool. On the Contrary, the more *Northern* Climates, as they suffer little by Heat, make little Provision against it, and are careless of Shade, and seldom curious in Fountains. Good Statues are in the Reach of few Men, and common ones are generally and justly despised or neglected. But no Sorts of good Fruits or Flowers, being Natives of the Climates, or usual among us; (nor indeed the best Sort of Plants, Herbs, Sallads for our Kitchen-Gardens themselves) and the best Fruits not ripening without the Advantage of Walls or Palisades, by Reflection of the faint Heat we receive from the Sun, our Gardens are made of smaller Compass, seldom exceeding Four, Six, or Eight Acres; Inclosed with Walls, and laid out in a manner,

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wholly

wholly for Advantage of Fruits, Flowers, and the Product of Kitchen-Gardens in all Sorts of Herbs, Sallads, Plants and Legumes, for the common Use of Tables.

These are usually the Gardens of *England* and *Holland*, as the first Sort are those of *Italy*, and were so of old. In the more temperate Parts of *France*, and in *Brabant*, (where I take Gardening to be at its greatest Height) they are composed of both Sorts, the Extent more spacious than ours; part laid out for Flowers, others for Fruits; some Standards, some against Walls or Palisades, some for Forest-Trees and Groves for Shade, some Parts Wild, some Exact; and Fountains much in Request among them.

But after so much Ramble into Ancient Times, and Remote Places, to return Home and consider the present Way and Humour of our Gardening in *England*; which seem to have grown into such Vogue, and to have been so mightily improved in Three or Four and twenty Years of His Majesty's Reign, that perhaps few Countries are before us, either in the Elegance of our Gardens, or in the Number of our Plants; and I believe none equals us in the Variety of Fruits, which may be justly called good; and from the earliest Cherry and Strawberry,
to

to the last Apples and Pears, may furnish every Day of the circling Year. For the Taste and Perfection of what we esteem the best, I may truly say, that the *French*, who have eaten my Peaches and Grapes at *Shene*, in no very Ill Year, have generally concluded, that the last are as good as any they have eaten in *France*, on this side *Fountainbleau*; and the first as good as any they have eat in *Gascony*; I mean those which come from the Stone, and are properly called Peaches, not those which are hard, and are termed Pavies; for these cannot grow in too warm a Climate, nor ever be good in a cold; and are better at *Madrid*, than in *Gascony* it self: *Italians* have agreed, my White Figs to be as good as any of that Sort in *Italy*, which is the earlier kind of White Fig there; for in the latter kind, and the Blue, we cannot come near the warm Climates, no more than in the *Frontignac* or *Muscat* Grape.

My Orange-Trees are as large as any I saw when I was young in *France*, except those of *Fountainbleau*, or what I have seen since in the *Low Countries*, except some very old ones of the Prince of *Orange's*; as laden with Flowers as any can well be, as full of Fruit as I suffer or desire them, and as well tasted

as are commonly brought over, except the best Sorts of *Sevil* and *Portugal*. And thus much I could not but say, in Defence of our Climate, which is so much and so generally decried Abroad, by those who never saw it ; or if they have been here, have yet perhaps seen no more of it, than what belongs to Inns, or to Taverns and Ordinaries ; who accuse our Country for their own Defaults, and speak Ill, not only of our Gardens and Houses, but of our Humours, our Breeding, our Customs and Manners of Life, by what they have observed of the Meaner and Baser Sort of Mankind ; and of Company among us, because they wanted themselves perhaps, either Fortune or Birth, either Quality or Merit, to introduce them among the Good.

I must needs add one thing more in Favour of our Climate, which I heard the King say, and I thought New and Right, and truly like a King *England*, that loved and esteemed his own Country : 'Twas in Reply to some of the Company that were reviling our Climate, and extolling those of *Italy* and *Spain*, or at least of *France* : He said, He thought that was the best Climate, where he could be abroad in the Air with Pleasure,

sure, or at least without Trouble and Inconvenience, the most Days of the Year, and the most Hours of the Day; and this he thought he could be in *England*, more than in any Country he knew of in *Europe*. And I believe it is true, not only of the Hot and the Cold, but even among our Neighbours in *France*, and the *Low-Countries* themselves; where the Heats or the Colds, and Changes of Seasons, are less treatable than they are with us.

The truth is, our Climate wants no Heat to produce excellent Fruits; and the Default of it, is only the short Season of our Heats or Summers, by which many of the latter are left behind, and imperfect with us. But all such as are ripe before the end of *August*, are for ought I know, as good with us as any where else. This makes me esteem the true Region of Gardens in *England*, to be the Compass of Ten Miles about *London*; where the accidental Warmth of Air, from the Fires and Steams of so vast a Town, makes Fruits, as well as Corn, a great deal forwarder than in *Hampshire* or *Wiltshire*, though more *Southward* by a full Degree.

There are, besides the Temper of our Climate, two things particular to us,
that

that contribute much to the Beauty and Elegance of our Gardens, which are the Gravel of our Walks, and the Fineness, and almost perpetual Greenness of our Turf. The first is not known any where else, which leaves all their Dry Walks in other Countries, very unpleasant and uneasy. The other cannot be found in *France* or in *Holland* as we have it, the Soil not admitting that Fineness of Blade in *Holland*, nor the Sun that Greenness in *France*, during most of the Summer; nor indeed is it to be found but in the Finest of our Soils.

Whoever begins a Garden, ought in the first place, and above all, to consider the Soil, upon which the Taste of not only his Fruits, but his Legumes, and even Herbs and Sallads, will wholly depend; and the Default of Soil is without Remedy: For although all Borders of Fruit may be made with what Earth you please, (if you will be at the Charge) yet it must be renewed in Two or Three Years, or it runs into the Nature of the Ground where 'tis brought. Old Trees spread their Roots further than any Bodies Care extends, or the Forms of the Garden will allow; and after all, where the Soil about you is Ill, the Air is so too in a Degree, and has Influence upon

upon the Taste of Fruit. What *Horace* says of the Productions of Kitchen-Gardens under the Name of *Caulis*, is true of all the best Sorts of Fruits, and may determine the Choice of Soil for all Gardens.

*Caule suburbano qui ficcis crevit in agris.
Dulcior, irriguis nihil est elutius hortis.*

*Plants from dry Fields those of the Town
excel,
Nothing more tasteless is than water'd
Grounds.*

Any Man had better throw away his Care and his Money upon any thing else, than upon a Garden in Wet or Moist Ground. Peaches and Grapes will have no Taste but upon a Sand or Gravel; but the Richer these are, the better; and neither Sallads, Pease or Beans, have at all the Taste upon a Clay or Rich Earth, as they have upon either of the others, tho' the Size and Colour of Fruits and Plants may perhaps, be more upon the worse Soils.

Next to your Choice of Soil, is to suit your Plants to your Ground, since of this every one is not Master; though perhaps *Varro's* Judgment upon this Case,



Case, is the wisest and the best ; for to one that asked him, What he should do if his Father or Ancestors had left him a Seat in an Ill Air, or upon an Ill Soil ? He answered, Why Sell it, and Buy another in Good ? But what if I cannot get Half the Worth ? Why then take a Quarter ; but however, Sell it for any thing rather than live upon it.

Of all Sorts of Soil, the best is that upon a Sandy Gravel, or a Rosiny Sand ; whoever lies upon either of these, may run boldly into all the best Sort of Peaches and Grapes, how Shallow soever the Turf be upon them ; and whatever other Tree will thrive in these Soils, the Fruit shall be of much finer Taste than any other : A richer Soil will do well enough for Apricocks, Plums, Pears or Figs ; but still the more of the Sand in your Earth the better, and the worse the more of the Clay, which is proper for Oaks, and no other Tree that I know of.

Fruits should be suited to the Climate among us, as well as the Soil ; for there are Degrees of one and the other in *England*, where 'tis to little Purpose to plant any of the best Fruits ; as Peaches or Grapes, hardly I doubt, beyond *Northamptonshire*, at the furthest *Northwards* : And I thought it very prudent
in

in a Gentleman of my Friends in *Staffordshire*, who is a great Lover of his Garden, to pretend no higher, though his Soil be good enough, than to the Perfection of Plums; and in these (by bestowing *South Walls* upon them) he has very well succeeded, which he could never have done in Attempts upon Peaches and Grapes; and a good Plum is certainly better than an ill Peach.

When I was at *Cosevelt* with that Bishop of *Munster*, that made so much Noise in his time, I observed no other Trees but Cherries in a great Garden he had made. He told me the Reason was, because he found no other Fruit would ripen well in that Climate, or upon that Soil; and therefore instead of being curious in others, he had only been so in the Sorts of that, whereof he had so many, as never to be without them from *May* to the end of *September*.

As to the Size of a Garden, which will perhaps, in time grow extravagant among us, I think from Four or Five, to Seven or Eight Acres, is as much as any Gentleman need design, and will furnish as much of all that is expected from it, as any Nobleman will have occasion to use in his Family.

In every Garden Four Things are necessary

cessary to be provided for, Flowers, Fruit, Shade and Water; and whoever lays out a Garden without all these, must not pretend it in any Perfection: It ought to lie to the best Parts of the House, or to those of the Master's commonest Use, so as to be but like one of the Rooms out of which you step into another. The Part of your Garden next your House, (besides the Walks that go round it) should be a Parterre for Flowers, or Grass-Plots bordered with Flowers; or if, according to the Newest Mode, it be cast all into Grass-Plots and Gravel Walks, the Driness of these should be relieved with Fountains, and the Plainness of those with Statues; otherwise, if large, they have an ill Effect upon the Eye. However, the Part next the House should be open, and no other Fruit but upon the Walls. If this take up one Half of the Garden, the other should be Fruit-Trees, unless some Grove for Shade lie in the Middle. If it take up a Third Part only, then the next Third may be Dwarf-Trees, and the Last Standard-Fruit; or else the Second Part Fruit-Trees, and the Third all Sorts of Winter-greens, which provide for all Seasons of the Year.

I will not enter upon any Account of
Flowers,

Flowers, having only pleased my self with seeing or smelling them, and not troubled my self with the Care, which is more the Ladies Part than the Mens; but the Success is wholly in the Gardiner. For Fruits, the best we have in *England*, or I believe can ever hope for, are, of Peaches, the *White* and *Red Maudlin*, the *Minion*, the *Chevreuse*, the *Ramboulet*, the *Musk*, the *Admirable*, which is late; all the rest are either varified by Names, or not to be named with these, nor worth troubling a Garden, in my Opinion. Of the *Pavies* or Hard Peaches, I know none good here but the *Newington*, nor will that easily hang till 'tis full ripe. The forward Peaches are to be esteemed only because they are early, but yet should find Room in a good Garden, at least the *White* and *Brown Nutmeg*, the *Persian*, and the *Violet Musk*. The only good *Nectarins* are the *Murry* and the *French*; of these there are two Sorts, one very round, the other something long, but the round is the best: Of the *Murry* there are several Sorts, but being all hard, they are seldom well ripened with us.

Of Grapes, the best are the *Chasselas*, which is the better Sort of our *White Muscadine*, (as the usual Name was) about

about *Sheen* ; 'tis called the Pearl-Grape, and ripens well enough in common Years, but not so well as the common Black, or Currant, which is something a worse Grape. The Parsley is good and proper enough to our Climate, but all White *Frontiniacks* are difficult, and seldom ripe unless in extraordinary Summers.

I have had the Honour of bringing over four Sorts into *England* ; the *Arboyse* from the *Franche Comte*, which is a small White Grape, or rather runs into some small and some great upon the same Bunch ; it agrees well with our Climate, but is very choice in Soil, and must have a sharp Gravel ; it is the most delicious of all Grapes that are not Muscat. The *Burgundy*, which is a Grizelin or Pale Red, and of all others is surest to ripen in our Climate, so that I have never known them to fail one Summer these Fifteen Years, when all others have ; and have had it very good upon an *East* Wall. A Black Muscat, which is called the *Dowager*, and ripens as well as the common White Grape. And the Fourth is the *Grizelin Frontignac*, being of that Colour, and the highest of that Taste, and the Noblest of all Grapes I ever eat in *England* ; but requires the hottest Wall and the sharpest Gravel ; and must be
favour-

favoured by the Summer too, to be very good. All these are, I suppose, by this time, pretty common among some Gardeners in my Neighbourhood, as well as several Persons of Quality; for I have ever thought all things of this kind, the commoner they are made, the better.

Of Figs there are among us the White, the Blue, and the Tawny: The last is very small, bears ill, and I think but a Bawble. Of the Blue there are two or three Sorts, but little different, one something longer than the other; but that kind which swells most, is ever the best. Of the White I know but two Sorts, and both excellent; one ripe in the beginning of *July*, the other in the end of *September*, and is yellower than the first; but this is hard to be found among us, and difficult to raise, though an excellent Fruit.

Of Apricocks the best are the common old Sort, and the largest Masculin; of which this last is much improved by budding upon a Peach Stock. I esteem none of this Fruit but the *Brussel's* Apricock, which grows a Standard, and is one of the best Fruits we have; and which I first brought over among us.

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The Number of good Pears, especially Summer, is very great, but the best are the Blanquet, Robin, Rousselet, Rosati, Sans, Pepin, Jargonell. Of the Autumn, the Buree, the Vertelongue, and the Bergamot. Of the Winter, the Vergoluz, Chassleray, St. *Michael*, St. *Germain*, and Ambret : I esteem the Bon-Cretien with us good for nothing but to bake.

Of Plums the best are St. *Julian*, St. *Catharine*, White and Blue Pedrigon, Queen-Mother, Sheen-Plum, and Cheston.

Beyond the Sorts I have named, none I think need trouble himself, but multiply these, rather than make room for more Kinds ; and I am content to leave this Register, having been so often desired it by my Friends upon their Designs of Gardening.

I need say nothing of Apples, being so well known among us ; but the best of our Climate, and I believe of all others, is the Golden Pippin ; and for all sorts of Uses : The next is the Kentish Pippin ; but these I think are as far from their Perfection with us as Grapes, and yield to those of *Normandy*, as these to those in *Anjou*, and even these to those in *Gascony*.

Gascony. In other Fruits the Defect of Sun is in a great Measure supplied by the Advantage of Walls.

The next Care to that of suiting Trees with the Soil, is that of suiting Fruits to the Position of Walls. Grapes, Peaches, and Winter-Pears to be good, must be planted upon full *South*, or *South-East*; Figs are best upon *South-East*, but will do well upon *East* and *South-West*: The *West* are proper for Cherries, Plums or Apricocks; but all of them are improved by a *South* Wall both as to Early and Taste: *North*, *North-West*, or *North-East*, deserve nothing but Greens; these should be divided by Woodbines or Jessemains between every Green, and the other Walls, by a Vine between every Fruit-Tree; the best Sorts upon the *South-Walls*, the common White and Black upon *East* and *West*, because the other Trees being many of them (especially Peaches) very transitory; some apt to die with hard Winters, others to be cut down and make room for new Fruits: Without this Method the Walls are left for several Years unfurnished; whereas the Vines on each side cover the void Space in one Summer, and when the other Trees are grown, make

1 2 only

only a Pillar between them of Two or Three Foot broad.

Whoever would have the best Fruits in the most Perfection our Climate will allow, should not only take care of giving them as much Sun, but also as much Air as he can; no Tree, unless Dwarf, should be suffered to grow within Forty Foot of your best Walls, but the farther they lie open, is still the better. Of all others, this care is most necessary in Vines, which are observed abroad to make the best Wines, where they lie upon sides of Hills, and so most exposed to the Air and the Winds. The way of pruning them too, is best learn'd from the Vineyards, where you see nothing in Winter, but what looks like a dead Stump; and upon our Walls they should be left but like a Ragged Staff, not above two or three Eyes at most upon the Bearing Branches; and the lower the Vine and fewer the Branches, the Grapes will be still the better.

The best Figure of a Garden is either a Square or an Oblong, and either upon a Flat or a Descent; they have all their Beauties, but the best I esteem an Oblong upon a Descent. The Beauty, the Air, the View makes Amends for the
Expence,

Expenſe, which is very great in finiſhing and ſupporting the Terras-Walks, in levelling the Parterres, and in the Stone-Stairs that are neceſſary from one to the other.

The perfecteſt Figure of a Garden I ever ſaw, either at Home or Abroad, was that of *Moor-Park* in *Hartfordſhire*, when I knew it about Thirty Years ago. It was made by the Counteſs of *Bedford*, eſteemed among the greateſt Wits of her time, and celebrated by Doctor *Donne*; and with very great Care, excellent Contrivance, and much Coſt; but greater Sums may be thrown away without Effect or Honour, if there want Senſe in Proportion to Mony, or if Nature be not followed; which I take to be the great Rule in this, and perhaps in every thing elſe, as far as the Conduct not only of our Lives, but our Governments. And whether the greateſt of Mortal Men ſhould attempt the forcing of Nature, may beſt be judged, by obſerving how ſeldom God Almighty does it Himſelf, by ſo few, true and undisputed Miracles, as we ſee or hear of in the World. For my own Part, I know not three wiſer Precepts for the Conduct either of Princes or Private Men, than

——— *Servare Modum, Finemq; tueri,
Naturamq; sequi.*

Because I take the Garden I have named, to have been in all Kinds the most Beautiful and Perfect, at least in the Figure and Disposition, that I have ever seen, I will describe it for a Model to those that meet with such a Situation, and are above the Regards of common Expence. It lies on the side of a Hill, (upon which the House stands) but not very steep. The Length of the House, where the best Rooms, and of most Use or Pleasure are, lies upon the Breadth of the Garden, the Great Parkour opens into the Middle of a Terras Gravel-Walk that lies even with it, and which may be as I remember, about Three hundred Paces long, and broad in Proportion; the Border set with Standard Lawrels, and at large Distances, which have the Beauty of Orange-Trees out of Flower and Fruit: From this Walk are Three Descents by many Stone Steps in the Middle and at each End, into a very large Parterre. This is divided into Quarters by Gravel-Walks, and adorned with Two Fountains and Eight Statues

tues in the several Quarters ; at the End of the Terras-Walk are Two Summer-Houses, and the Sides of the Parterre are ranged with two large Cloisters, open to the Garden, upon Arches of Stone, and ending with two other Summer-Houses even with the Cloisters, which are paved with Stone, and designed for Walks of Shade, there being none other in the whole Parterre. Over these two Cloisters are two Terrasses covered with Lead, and fenced with Balusters; and the Passage into these Airy Walks, is out of the two Summer-Houses at the End of the first Terras-Walk. The Cloister facing the *South* is covered with Vines, and would have been proper for an Orange-House, and the other for Myrtles, or other more common Greens; and had, I doubt not, been cast for that Purpose, if this Piece of Gardening had been then in as much Vogue as it is now.

From the Middle of this Parterre is a Descent by many Steps flying on each side of a Grotto that lies between them (covered with Lead, and Flat) into the lower Garden, which is all Fruit-Trees ranged about the several Quarters of a Wilderness which is very Shady; the

Walks here are all Green, the Grotto embellish'd with Figures of Shell-Rock-work, Fountains and Water-works. If the Hill had not ended with the lower Garden, and the Wall were not bound-ed by a common way that goes through the Park, they might have added a Third Quarter of all Greens; but this Want is supplied by a Garden on the other side the House, which is all of that Sort, very Wild, Shady, and Adorn-ed with rough Rock-work and Foun-tains.

This was *Moor-Park*, when I was ac-quainted with it, and the sweetest Place, I think, that I have seen in my Life, ei-ther before or since, at Home or Abroad; what it is now I can give little Account; having pass'd through several Hands that have made great Changes in Gar-dens as well as Houses; but the Remem-brance of what it was, is too pleasant ever to forget, and therefore I do not believe to have mistaken the Figure of it, which may serve for a Pattern to the best Gardens of our Manner, and that are most proper for our Country and Climate.

What

What I have said of the best Forms of Gardens, is meant only of such as are in some sort regular ; for there may be other Forms wholly irregular, that may, for ought I know, have more Beauty than any of the others ; but they must owe it to some extraordinary Dispositions of Nature in the Seat, or some great Race of Fancy or Judgment in the Contrivance, which may reduce many disagreeing Parts into some Figure, which shall yet upon the whole, be very agreeable. Something of this I have seen in some Places, but heard more of it from others, who have lived much among the *Chineses* ; a People, whose way of Thinking, seems to lie as wide of ours in *Europe*, as their Country does. Among us, the Beauty of Building and Planting is placed chiefly in some certain Proportions, Symmetries, or Uniformities ; our Walks and our Trees ranged so, as to answer one another, and at exact Distances. The *Chineses* scorn this way of Planting, and say a Boy that can tell an Hundred, may plant Walks of Trees in strait Lines, and overagainst one another, and to what Length and Extent he pleases. But their greatest Reach of Imagination, is employed

ployed in contriving Figures, where the Beauty shall be great, and strike the Eye, but without any Order or Disposition of Parts, that shall be commonly or easily observ'd. And though we have hardly any Notion of this sort of Beauty, yet they have a particular word to express it; and where they find it hit their Eye at first Sight, they say the *Sharawadgi* is fine or is admirable, or any such Expression of Esteem. And whoever observes the Work upon the best *Indian* Gowns, or the Painting upon their best Skreens or Purcellans, will find their Beauty is all of this Kind, (that is) without Order. But I should hardly advise any of these Attempts in the Figure of Gardens among us; they are Adventures of too hard Atchievement for any common Hands; and tho' there may be more Honour if they succeed well, yet there is more Dishonour if they fail, and 'tis Twenty to One they will; whereas in regular Figures, 'tis hard to make any great and remarkable Faults.

The Picture I have met with in some Relations of a Garden made by a *Dutch* Governour of their Colony, upon the *Cape de Buen Esperance* is admirable, and described to be of an Oblong Figure,
very

very large Extent, and divided into Four Quarters by long and cross Walks, ranged with all sorts of Orange-Trees, Lemons, Limes and Citrons; each of these Four Quarters is planted with the Trees, Fruits, Flowers and Plants that are native and proper to each of the Four Parts of the World; so as in this one Inclosure are to be found the several Gardens of *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africk* and *America*. There could not be in my Mind, a greater Thought of a Gardener, nor a nobler Idea of a Garden, nor better suited or chosen for the Climate, which is about Thirty Degrees, and may pass for the *Hesperides* of our Age, whatever or wherever the other was. Yet this is agreed by all to have been in the Islands or Continent upon the *South-West* of *Africa*, but what their Forms or their Fruits were, none that I know, pretend to tell; nor whether their Golden Apples were for Taste, or only for Sight, as those of *Montezuma* were in *Mexico*, who had large Trees, with Stocks, Branches, Leaves and Fruits, all admirably composed and wrought of Gold; but this was only stupendous in Cost and Art, and answers not at all in my

my Opinion, the delicious Varieties of Nature in other Gardens.

What I have said of Gardening, is perhaps enough for any Gentleman to know, so as to make no great Faults, nor be much imposed upon in the Designs of that Kind, which I think ought to be applauded, and encouraged in all Countries. That and Building being a sort of Creation, that raise Beautiful Fabricks and Figures out of nothing, that make the Convenience and Pleasure of all private Habitations, that employ many Hands, and circulate much Money among the poorer sort and Artisans, that are a publick Service to ones Country, by the Example as well as Effect, which adorn the Scene, improve the Earth, and even the Air it self in some Degree. The rest that belongs to this Subject, must be a Gardener's Part; upon whose Skill, Diligence and Care, the Beauty of the Grounds, and Excellence of the Fruits will much depend. Though if the Soil and Sorts be well chosen, well suited, and disposed to the Walls, the Ignorance or Carelessness of the Servants can hardly leave the Master disappointed.

I will

I will not enter further upon his Trade, than by Three short Directions or Advices : First, In all Plantations, either for his Master or himself, to draw his Trees out of some Nursery, that is, upon a leaner and lighter Soil than his own where he removes them ; without this Care they will not thrive in several Years, perhaps never ; and must make way for new, which should be avoided all that can be ; for Life is too short and uncertain, to be renewing often your Plantations. The Walls of your Garden without their Furniture, look as ill as those of your House ; so that you cannot dig up your Garden too often, nor too seldom cut them down.

The Second is, In all Trees you raise, to have some Regard to the Stock, as well as the Graft or Bud ; for the first will have a Share in giving Taste and Season to the Fruits it produces, how little soever it is usually observed by our Gardeners. I have found Grafts of the same Tree upon a Bon-cretien-Stock, bring Chasseray Pears, that lasted till *March*, but with a Rind Green and Rough : And others, upon a Metre-John-Stock, with a smooth and Yellow Skin, which
were

were rotten in *November*. I am apt to think, all the Difference between the *St. Michael* and the *Ambrette Pear* (which has puzzled our Gardeners) is only what comes from this Variety of the Stocks; and by this perhaps, as well as by raising from Stones and Kernels, most of the new Fruits are produced every Age. So the Grafting a Crab upon a White Thorn brings the *Lazarolli*, a Fruit esteemed at *Rome*, tho' I do not find it worth cultivating here; and I believe the *Cidra-to* (or *Hermaphrodite*) came from Budding a Citron upon an Orange. The best Peaches are raised by Buds of the best Fruits upon Stocks, growing from Stones of the best Peaches; and so the best Apples and Pears, from the best Kinds grafted upon Stocks, from Kernels also of the best Sorts, with Respect to the Season, as well as Beauty and Taste. And I believe so many excellent *Winter-Pears* as have come into *France* since Forty Years, may have been found out by grafting *Summer-Pears* of the finest Taste and most Water, upon *Winter-Stocks*.

The Third Advice is, To take the greatest Care and Pains in preserving your Trees from the worst Disease, to which those of the best Fruits are subject in the best

best Soils, and upon the best Walls. 'Tis what has not been (that I know of) taken Notice of with us, till I was forced to observe it by the Experience of my Gardens, though I have since met with it in Books both Ancient and Modern. I found my Vines, Peaches, Apricocks and Plums upon my best South-Walls, and sometimes upon my West, apt for several Years to a Soot, or Smuttiness upon their Leaves first, and then upon their Fruits, which were good for nothing the Years they were so affected. My Orange Trees were likewise subject to it, and never prospered while they were so; and I have known some Collections quite destroyed by it. But I cannot say, that I ever found either my Figs or Pears infected with it, nor any Trees upon my East-Walls, though I do not well conjecture at the Reason. The rest were so spoiled with it, that I complained to several of the oldest and best Gardeners of *England*, who knew nothing of it, but that they often fell into the same Misfortune, and esteemed it some Blight of the Spring. I observed after some Years, that the diseased Trees, had very frequent upon their Stocks and Branches, a small Insect of a dark brown Colour,

Colour, figured like a Shield, and about the Size of a large Wheat-Corn : They stuck close to the Bark, and in many Places covered it, especially about the Joints : In Winter they are dry, and thin-shell'd ; but in Spring they begin to grow soft, and to fill with Moisture, and to throw a Spawn like a Black Dust upon the Stocks, as well as the Leaves and Fruits.

I met afterwards with the Mention of this Disease, as known among Orange-Trees, in a Book written upon that Subject in *Holland*, and since in *Pausanias*, as a thing so much taken Notice of in *Greece*, that the Author describes a certain sort of Earth which cures *Pediculos Vitis*, or, *the Lice of the Vine*. This is of all others, the most pestilent Disease of the best Fruit-Trees, and upon the very best Soils of Gravel and Sand (especially where they are too hungry :) And is so contagious, that it is propagated to new Plants, raised from old Trees that are infected, and spreads to new ones that are planted near them, which makes me imagine, that it lies in the Root, and that the best Cure were by Application there. But I have tried all Sorts of Soil without Effect, and can pre-

prescribe no other Remedy, than to Prune your Trees as close as you can, especially the tainted Wood, then to wash them very clean with a wet Brush, so as not to leave one Shell upon them that you can discern: And upon your Oranges to pick off every one that you can find, by turning every Leaf, as well as brushing clean the Stocks and Branches. Without these Cares and Diligences, you had better root up any Trees that are infected, renew all the Mold in your Borders or Boxes, and plant new sound Trees, rather than suffer the Disappointments and Vexation of your old ones.

I may perhaps be allowed to know something of this Trade, since I have so long allowed my self to be good for nothing else, which few Men will do, or enjoy their Gardens, without often looking abroad to see how other Matters play, what Motions in the State, and what Invitations they may hope for into other Scenes.

For my own part, as the Country Life, and this Part of it more particularly, were the Inclination of my Youth it self, so they are the Pleasure of my Age; and I can truly say, that among many great Employments that have

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fallen

fallen to my Share, I have never asked
or sought for any one of them, but of-
ten endeavoured to escape from them,
into the Ease and Freedom of a private
Scene, where a Man may go his own
Way and his own Pace, in the common
Paths or Circles of Life.

*Inter cuncta leges & percontabere doctos
Qua ratione queas traducere lenitur ævum,
Quid curas minuat, quid te tibi reddat
amicum,
Quid pure tranquillet, honos an dulce lu-
cellum,
An secretum iter, & fallentis semita vita.*

*But above all, the Learned read and ask
By what Means you may gently pass your
Age,
What lessens Care, what makes thee thine
own Friend,
What truly calms the Mind, Honour or
Wealth,
Or else a private Path of stealing Life.*

These are Questions that a Man ought
at least to ask himself, whether he asks
others or no, and to chuse his Course
of Life rather by his own Humour and
Temper, than by common Accidents,
or

or Advice of Friends, at least if the *Spanish* Proverb be true, That a Fool knows more in his own House, than a Wise Man in another's.

The Measure of chusing well, is, Whether a Man likes what he has chosen, which I thank God has befallen me; and though among the Follies of my Life, Building and Planting have not been the least, and have cost me more than I have the Confidence to own; yet they have been fully recompenced by the Sweetness and Satisfaction of this Retreat, where, since my Resolution taken of never entring again into any Publick Employments, I have passed Five Years without ever going once to Town, tho' I am almost in Sight of it, and have a House there always ready to receive me. Nor has this been any sort of Affectation, as some have thought it, but a meer Want of Desire or Humour to make so small a Remove; for when I am in this Corner, I can truly say with *Horace*,

*Me quoties reficit gelidus Digentia rivus,
Quid sentire putas, quid credis amice pre-
care?*

*Sit mihi quod nunc est etiam minus, ut mihi
vivam,*

*Quod superest ævi, si quid superesse volent
Dii.*

*Sit bona librorum, & provisæ frugis in
annum*

*Copia, ne dubiæ fluitem spe pendulus hora,
Hoc satis est orasse Jovem qui donat &
aufert.*

*Me when the cold Digentian Stream re-
vives,*

What does my Friend believe I think or ask?

Let me yet less possess so I may live,

What 'ere of Life remains, unto my self.

*May I have Books enough, and one Tears
Store,*

Not to depend upon each doubtful Hour ;

This is enough of mighty Jove to pray,

Who as He pleases gives and takes away.

That which makes the Cares of Gardening more necessary, or at least more excuseable, is, that all Men eat Fruit that can get it, so as the Choice is, only whether one will eat Good or Ill ; and between these the Difference is not greater in Point of Taste and Delicacy, than it is of Health : For the first I will only say, That whoever has used to eat good,
will

will do very great Penance when he comes to Ill : And for the other, I think nothing is more evident, than as ill or unripe Fruit is extreemly unwholsome, and causes so many untimely Deaths, or so much Sicknes about Autumn, in all great Cities where 'tis greedily sold as well as eaten ; so no part of Dyet, in any Season, is so Healthful, so Natural, and so Agreeable to the Stomach, as good and well-ripen'd Fruits ; for this I make the Measure of their being good ; and let the Kinds be what they will, if they will not ripen perfectly in our Climate, they are better never planted, or never eaten. I can say it for my self at least, and all my Friends, that the Season of Summer Fruits is ever the Season of Health with us, which I reckon from the beginning of *June* to the end of *September*, and for all Sickneses of the Stomach (from which most others are judged to proceed). I do not think any that are like me, the most subject to them, shall complain, whenever they eat Thirty or Forty Cherries before Meals, or the like Proportion of Strawberries, White Figs, soft Peaches, or Grapes perfectly ripe. But these after *Michaelmas*, I do not think wholsome with us, unless

attended by some Fit of Hot and Dry Weather, more than is usual after that Season; when the Frosts or the Rain have taken them, they grow dangerous, and nothing but the Autumn and Winter-Pears, are to be reckon'd in Season, besides Apples, which with Cherries, are of all others the most innocent Food, and perhaps the best Physick. Now whoever will be sure to eat good Fruit, must do it out of a Garden of his own; for besides the Choice so necessary in the Sorts, the Soil, and so many other Circumstances that go to compose a good Garden, or produce good Fruits, there is something very nice in gathering them, and chusing the best, even from the same Tree. The best Sorts of all among us, which I esteem the White Figs and the soft Peaches, will not carry without suffering. The best Fruit that is bought, has no more of the Master's Care, than how to raise the greatest Gains; His Business is to have as much Fruit as he can upon as few Trees; whereas the way to have it Excellent, is to have but little upon many Trees. So that for all things out of a Garden, either of Sallads or Fruits, a Poor Man will eat better, that

that has one of his own, than a Rich Man that has none. And this is all I think of, Necessary and Useful to be known upon this Subject.

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YACHT

ESSAY III.

Of Heroick Virtue.

AMONG all the Endowments of Nature, or Improvements of Art, wherein Men have excelled and distinguished themselves most in the World, there are Two only that have had the Honour of being called Divine, and of giving that Esteem or Appellation to such as possessed them in very eminent Degrees ; which are, Heroick Virtue and Poetry : For Prophecy cannot be esteemed any Excellency of Nature or of Art, but wherever it is true, is an immediate Gift of God, and bestowed according to his Pleasure, and upon Subjects of the meanest Capacity ; upon Women or Children, or even things inanimate ; as the Stones placed in the High-Priest's Breast-Plate, which were a Sacred Oracle among the *Jews*.

I will

I will leave Poetry to an Essay by it self, and dedicate this only to that antiquated Shrine of Heroick Virtue, which however forgotten, or unknown in later Ages, must yet be allowed to have produced in the World, the Advantages most valued among Men, and which most distinguish their Understandings and their Lives, from the rest of their Fellow-Creatures.

Though it be easier to describe Heroick Virtue, by the Effects and Examples, than by Causes or Definitions; yet it may be said to arise from some great and native Excellency of Temper or Genius transcending the common Race of Mankind, in Wisdom, Goodness and Fortitude. These Ingredients advantaged by Birth, improved by Education, and assisted by Fortune, seem to make that Noble Composition, which gives such a Lustre to those who have possess it, as made them appear to common Eyes, something more than Mortals, and to have been born of some Mixture, between Divine and Human Race; To have been Honoured and Obey'd in their Lives, and after their Deaths Bewailed and Adored.

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The Greatness of their Wisdom, appeared in the Excellency of their Inventions; and these by the Goodness of their Nature, were turned and exercised upon such Subjects, as were of general Good to Mankind in the common Uses of Life, or to their own Countries in the Institutions of such Laws, Orders or Governments, as were of most Ease, Safety and Advantage to Civil Society. Their Valour was employed in defending their own Countries from the Violence of Ill Men at Home, or Enemies Abroad; in reducing their Barbarous Neighbours, to the same Forms and Orders of Civil Lives and Institutions; or in relieving others from the Cruelties and Oppressions of Tyranny and Violence. These are all comprehended in Three Verses of *Virgil*, describing the Blessed Seats in *Elysium*, and those that enjoyed them.

*Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera
passi,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per
artes,
Quique sui memores alios fecere meren-
do.*

Here

*Here such, as for their Country, Wounds
receiv'd:*

*Or who by Arts invented, Life improv'd,
Or by deserving made themselves remem-
bered.*

And indeed, the Character of Heroick Virtue, seems to be in short, The deserving well of Mankind. Where this is chief in Design, and great in Success, the Pretence to a Hero lies very fair, and can never be allowed without it.

I have said, that this Excellency of Genius must be Native, because it can never grow to any great Height, if it be only acquired or affected: But it must be ennobled by Birth, to give it more Lustre, Esteem and Authority; it must be cultivated by Education and Instruction, to improve its Growth, and direct its End and Application; and it must be assisted by Fortune, to preserve it to Maturity; because the noblest Spirit or Genius in the World, if it falls, though never so bravely, in its first Enterprises, cannot deserve enough of Mankind, to pretend to so great a Reward, as the Esteem of Heroick Virtue. And yet perhaps, many a Person has dyed in the first Battle or Adventure he achieved,
and

and lies buried in Silence and Oblivion; who had he out-lived as many Dangers as *Alexander* did, might have shined as bright in Honour and Fame. Now since so many Stars go to the making up of this Constellation, 'tis no Wonder it has so seldom appeared in the World; nor that when it does, it is received and followed with so much Gazing, and so much Veneration.

Among the simpler Ages or Generations of Men, in several Countries, those who were the first Inventors of Arts generally received and applauded as most necessary or useful to Human Life, were honoured Alive, and after Death worshipped as Gods. And so were those, who had been the first Authors of any good and well instituted Civil Government in any Country, by which, the Native Inhabitants were reduced from Savage and Brutish Lives, to the Safety and Convenience of Societies, the Enjoyment of Property, the Observance of Orders, and the Obedience of Laws; which were followed by Security, Plenty, Civility, Riches, Industry, and all Kinds of Arts. The evident Advantages and common Benefits of these Sorts of Institutions, made People generally inclined at Home

to

to obey such Governours, the Neighbour Nations to Esteem them, and thereby willingly enter into their Protection, or easily yield to the Force of their Arms and Prowess. Thus Conquests began to be made in the World, and upon the same Designs of reducing Barbarous Nations unto Civil and well Regulated Constitutions and Governments, and of subduing those by Force to obey them, who refused to accept willingly the Advantages of Life or Condition that were thereby offered them. Such Persons of old, who excelling in those Virtues, were attended by these Fortunes, and made great and famous Conquests, and left them under good Constitutions of Laws and Governments; or who instituted excellent and lasting Orders and Frames of any Political State, in what Compass soever of Country, or under what Names soever of Civil Government, were obeyed as Princes or Law-Givers in their own Times, and were called in after Ages by the Name of Heroes.

From these Sources, I believe, may be deduced all or most of the Theology or Idolatry of all the Ancient Pagan Countries, within the Compass of the
Four

Four great Empires, so much renowned in Story, and perhaps of some others, as great in their Constitutions, and as extended in their Conquests, though not so much celebrated or observed by Learned Men.

From all I can gather, upon the Surveys of ancient Story, I am apt to conclude, that *Saturn* was a King of *Crete*; and expelled that Kingdom by his Son. That *Jupiter* having driven out his Father from *Crete*, conquered *Greece*, or at least the *Peloponnesus*; and having among those Inhabitants introduced the Use of Agriculture, of Property and Civility, and established a Just and Regular Kingdom, was by them adored as Chief of their Gods.

Ante Jovem nulli subigerunt arva coloni.

That his Brothers, Sisters, Sons and Daughters, were Worshipped likewise, for the Inventions of things chiefly useful, necessary, or agreeable to Human Life. So *Neptune*, for the Art or Improvement of *Navigation*; *Vulcan*, for that of Forging Brass and Iron; *Minerva*, of Spinning; *Apollo*, of Musick,
and

and Poetry ; *Mercury*, of Manual Arts and Merchandise ; *Bacchus*, for the Invention of Wine ; and *Ceres* of Corn.

I do not find any Traces left, by which a probable Conjecture may be made of the Age, wherein this Race of *Saturn* flourished in the World, nor consequently, what Length of Time they were adored ; for as to *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, it is generally agreed, that there were more than one or two of those Names, in very different Times, and perhaps Countries, as *Greece* and *Egypt* ; and that the last, who was Son of *Alcmena*, and one of the *Argonauts*, was very Modern, in respect of the other more Ancient, who was contemporary with the Race of *Jupiter*. But the Story of that *Bacchus* and *Hercules*, who are said to have Conquered *India*, is grown too obscure, by the dark Shades of so great Antiquity, or disguised by the Mask of Fables, and Fiction of Poets.

The same Divine Honours, were rendered by the *Egyptians* to *Osyris* ; in whose Temple was inscribed on a Pillar, That he had gone through all Countries, and every where taught Men all that he found necessary for the common

mon good of Mankind, by the *Assyrians*, to *Belus*, the Founder of that Kingdom, and great Inventer or Improver of Astronomy among the *Chaldæans*, by the Original *Latins* or *Hetruscans*, to *Fanus*, who introduced Agriculture into *Italy*; and these Three were worshipped as Gods by those Ancient and Learned Nations.

Ninus and *Sesoftris* were Renowned for their mighty Conquests, and esteemed the two great Heroes of *Assyria* and of *Egypt*; the first having extended his Victories to the River *Indus*, and the other, those of the *Egyptians*, over *Asia*, as far as *Pontus*. The time of *Ninus* is controverted among Historians, being by some placed Thirteen, by others Eight Hundred Years before *Sardanapalus*: But that of *Sesoftris*, is, in my Opinion, much harder to be affirmed. For I do not see how their Opinion can be allowed, who make him to be *Sesack*, that took *Jerusalem* in the time of *Rehoboam*, since no more is said in Scripture of the Progress of that Expedition: Nor is the time of it mentioned in the *Græcian* Story, though some Records are there found, of all that passed after the *Trojan* War, and

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with

with Distinction enough. But the most ancient among them, speak of the Reign of *Sesoftris*, and his mighty Conquests, as very ancient then, and agree the Kingdom of *Chalcos*, to have descended from a Colony there Established by this famous King, as a Monument how far Northward his Victories had extended. Now this Kingdom flourished in the time of the *Argonauts*, and excelled in those Arts of Magick and Enchantments, which they were thought to have brought with them out of *Egypt*; so as I think the Story of this King must be reckoned as almost covered with the Ruins of Time.

The two next Heroes that enter the Scene, are the *Theban Hercules*, and *Theseus*, both renowned among the *Greeks*, for freeing their Country from Fierce Wild Beasts, or from Fiercer and Wilder Men that infested them; from Robbers and Spoilers, or from Cruel and Lawless Tyrants. *Theseus* was besides honoured as Founder of the more Civil State or Kingdom of *Athens*, which City first began to flourish and grow great by his Institutions, though his Father had been King of the Scattered Villages or Inhabitants of *Attica*.

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In the same Age, flourished *Minos* King of *Crete*, reputed to be Son of *Jupiter*; who by the Force and Number of his Fleets, became Lord of the *Ægean* Islands, and most of the Coasts of *Greece*, and was renowned as a Heroe, for the Justness of his Laws, and the Greatness of his Reign.

For the Heroes, in the time of the *Trojan* Wars, so much celebrated in those two charming Poems, which from them were called Heroical, though 'tis easie to take their Characters from those admirable Pictures drawn of them by *Homer* and *Virgil*, yet 'tis hard to find them in the Relations of any Authentick Story. That which may be observed, is, that all the Conduct and Courage of *Hector*, were imployed in the Defence of his Country and his Father against a Foreign Invasion: The Valour of *Achilles* was exercised in the common Cause, wherein his whole Nation were engaged upon the fatal Revenge of the Rape of *Helen*, though he had been assured by certain Prophecies, that he should dye before the Walls of *Troy*; and *Aeneas* having imployed his utmost Prowess in defence of his Country, saved his Father and the *Trojan* Gods, gathered

thered up the Remainders of his Ruined Country, sailed to *Italy*, and there Founded a Kingdom, which gave Rise to the greatest Empire of the World.

About Two hundred and fifty Years after these, *Lycurgus* instituted the *Spartan* State, upon Laws and Orders so different from those usual in those Times and Countries, that more than Human Authority seemed necessary to establish them; and the *Pythian* Priests told him, she did not know whether she should call him a God or a Man. And indeed no Civil or Politick Constitutions have been more celebrated than his, by the best Authors of ancient Story and Times.

The next Heroes we meet with upon Record, were *Romulus* and *Numa*, of which the first Founded the *Roman* City and State, and the other Polished the Civil and Religious Orders of both in such a Degree, that the Original Institutions of these two Law-givers continued as long as that Glorious State.

The next Heroe that came upon the Stage, was *Cyrus*, who freed his Country from their Servitude to the *Medes*, erected the *Persian* Empire upon the
Ruins

Ruins of the *Affyrian*; adorned it with excellent Constitutions and Laws, and extended it Westward, by the Conquest of all the Lesser *Asia* and *Lydia*, to the very Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea. Whether the Picture of *Cyrus* drawn by *Xenophon*, be after the Life, or only imaginary, we may find in it the truest Character that can be given of Heroick Virtue: And 'tis certain his Memory was always certain among the *Persians*, though not prosecuted by Divine Honours, because that Nation adored one Supream God, without any Representation or Idol; and in the next place the Sun, to whom alone they offered Sacrifices.

Alexander was the next renowned in Story, having founded the *Grecian* Monarchy, by the intire Conquest of the *Persian*, and extended it by the Addition of *Greece* and *Macedon*. But he attained not the Esteem or Appellation of an Heroe, though he affected and courted it by his Mothers Stories of his Birth, and by the Flatteries of the Priest and Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*. His Pretence was justly excluded by his Intemperance in Wine, in Anger, and in Lust; and more yet by his Cruelties and

his Pride: For true Honour has something in it so humorous, as to follow commonly those who avoid and neglect it, rather than those who seek and pursue it. Besides, he instituted no Orders or Frame of Government, in the Kingdoms either of *Macedon* or *Persia*; but rather corrupted and disordered those he found: And seems to have owed the Success of his Enterprises, to the Councils and Conduct of his Father's old Officers; after whose Disgrace and Fall, immediately succeeded that of his Fortune and his Life. Yet he must be allowed, to have much contributed to his own Glory and Fame, by a great native Genius and unlimited Bounty, and by the greatest Boldness of Enterprize, Scorn of Danger, and Fearlessness of Death, that could be in any Mortal Man. He was a Prodigy of Valour and of Fortune, but whether his Virtues or his Faults were greatest, is hard to be decided.

Cæsar, who is commonly esteemed to have been Founder of the *Roman* Empire, seems to have possessed very eminently, all the Qualities, both Native and Acquired, that enter into the Composition of an Heroe, but failed of the Attribute

Attribute or Honour, because he overthrew the Laws of his own Country, and Orders of his State, and raised his Greatness by the Conquest of his Fellow-Citizens, more than of their Enemies; and after he came to the Empire, lived not to perfect the Frame of such a Government, or atchieve such Conquests as he seems to have had in Design.

These Four great Monarchies, with the smaller Kingdoms, Principalities and States, that were swallowed up by their Conquests and Extent, make the Subject of what is called Ancient Story, and are so excellently related by the many *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, still extant and in common Vogue, so Commented, Enlarged, Reduced into Order of Time and Place, by many more of the Modern Writers, that they are known to all Men, who profess to study or entertain themselves with Reading. The Orders and Institutions of these several Governments, their Progress and Duration, their Successes or Decays, their Events and Revolutions, make the common Themes of Schools and Colleges, the Study of Learned, and the Conversation of Idle Men, the Arguments of Histories, Poems and Romances. From

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the Actions and Fortunes of these Princes and Law-givers, are drawn the common Examples of Virtue and Honour, the Reproaches of Vice, which are illustrated by the Felicities or Misfortunes that attend them. From the Events and Revolutions of these Governments are drawn the usual Instructions of Princes and Statesmen, and the Discourses and Reflections of the greatest Wits and Writers upon the Politicks. From the Orders and Institutions, the Laws and Customs of these Empires and States, the Sages of Law and of Justice, in all Countries, endeavour to deduce the very common Laws of Nature and of Nations, as well as the particular Civil or Municipal of Kingdoms and Provinces. From these they draw their Arguments and Presidents in all Disputes concerning the pretended Excellencies or Defaults of the several Sorts of Governments that are extolled or decried, accused or defended. Concerning the Rights of War and Peace, of Invasion and Defence between Sovereign Princes, as well as of Authority and Obedience, of Prerogative and Liberty in Civil Contentions.

Yet

Yet the Stage of all these Empires and Revolutions of all these Heroick Actions, and these famous Constitutions, (how Great or how Wise soever any of them are esteemed) is but a limited Compass of Earth, that leaves out many vast Regions of the World, the which, though accounted Barbarous, and little taken Notice of in Story, or by any celebrated Authors, yet have a Right to come in for their Voice, in agreeing upon the Laws of Nature and Nations (for ought I know) as well as the rest, that have arrogated it wholly to themselves; and besides, in my Opinion, there are some of them, that upon Enquiry, will be found to have equalled or exceeded all the others, in the Wisdom of their Constitutions, the Extent of their Conquests, and the Duration of their Empires or States.

The famous Scene of the four great Monarchies, was that Midland Part of the World, which was bounded on the East by the River *Indus*, and on the West by the Atlantick Ocean; on the North by the River *Oxus*, the Caspian and the Euxine Seas, and the *Danube*; on the South by the Mountain *Atlas*, *Æthiopia*, *Arabia*, and from thence to the Mouth

Mouth of *Indus*, by the Southern Ocean.

'Tis true, that *Semiramis* and *Alexander* are said to have conquered *India*; but the first seems only to have subdued some Parts of it, that lie upon the Borders of that River; and *Alexander's* Achievements there, seem rather like a Journey than a Conquest; and though he pierced through the Country, from *Indus* to *Ganges*, yet he left even undiscovered, the greatest Parts of that Mighty Region, which by the Ancients was reported to contain an Hundred and eighteen Great and Populous Nations, and which, for ought I know, were never conquer'd but by the *Tartars*.

I reckon neither *Scythia* nor *Arabia* for Parts of that ancient Scene of Action and Story; for tho' *Cyrus* and *Darius* entred the first, yet they soon left it, one with loss of his Honour, and the other of his Life. And for *Arabia*, I neither find it was ever conquered, or indeed well discovered or surveyed; nor much more known, than by the Commerce of their Spices and Perfumes. I mean that part of it, which is called *Arabia Felix*, and is environed on three sides by the Sea; for the Northern Skirts,

Skirts, that join to *Syria*, have entred into the Conquests or Commerce of the Four great Empires; but that which seems to have secured the other, is the stony and sandy Desarts, through which no Armies can pass for want of Water.

Now if we consider the Map of the World, as it lies at present before us, since the Discoveries made by the Navigations of these three last Centuries, we shall easily find what vast Regions there are, which have been left out of that ancient Scene on all sides: And tho' passing for Barbarous, they have not been esteemed worth the Pens of any good Authors, and are known only by common and poor Relations of Traders, Seamen or Travellers; yet by all I have read, I am inclined to believe that some of these out-lying Parts of the World, however unknow by the Ancients, and overlook'd by the modern Learned, may yet have afforded as much Matter of Action and Speculation, as the other Scene so much celebrated in Story. I mean not only in their vast Extent, and Variety of Soils and Climates, with their natural Productions, but even in the excellent Constitutions of Laws and Customs,

Customs, the wise and lasting Foundations of States and Empires, and the mighty Flights of Conquests that have risen from such Orders and Institutions.

Now because the first Scene is such a beaten Road, and this so little known or traced, I am content to take a short Survey of our four great Schemes of Government or Empire, that have sprung and grown to mighty Heights, lived very long, and flourished much in these remote (and as we will have it, more ignoble) Regions of the World: Whereof one is at the farthest Degree of our Eastern Longitude, being the Kingdom of *China*. The next is at the farthest Western, which is that of *Perue*. The third is the utmost of our Northern Latitude, which is *Scythia* or *Tartary*. And the fourth is *Arakia*, which lies very far upon the Southern.

For that vast Continent of *Africa*, that extends between Mount *Atlas* and the Southern Ocean; tho' it be found to swarm in People, to abound in Gold, to contain many great Kingdoms, and infinite smaller Principalities, to be pierced by those two famous Rivers of the *Nile* and the *Niger*, to produce a
Race

Race of Men that seem hardly of the same Species with the rest of Mankind ; Yet I cannot find any Traces of that Heroick Virtue, that may entitle them to any Share in this Essay. For whatever remains in Story of *Atlas* or his Kingdom of old, is so obscured with Age or Fables, that it may go along with those of the Atlantick Islands; tho' I know not whether these themselves were by *Solon* or *Plato* intended for Fables or no, or for Relations they had met with among the *Egyptian* Priests, and which perhaps were by them otherwise esteemed.

SECT.

S E C T. II.

THE Great and Ancient Kingdom of *China* is bounded to the East and South by the Ocean, to the North by a Stone Wall of Twelve hundred Miles long, raised against the Invasion of the *Tartars*; and to the West, by vast and unpassable Mountains or Deserts, which the Labour or Curiosity of no mortal Man has been ever yet known to have pierced through, or given any Account of. When *Alexander* would have passed the River *Ganges*, he was told by the *Indians*, that nothing beyond it was Inhabited, and that all was either impassable Marshes, lying between great Rivers, or sandy Deserts, or steep Mountains, full only of Wild Beasts, but wholly destitute of Mankind. So as *Ganges* was esteemed by Ancients the Bound of the Eastern World: Since the Use of the Compass, and Extent of Navigation, it is found that there are several populous Kingdoms lie between
Ganges

Ganges and the Desarts or Mountains that divide them from *China*; as *Pegu*, *Siam*, *Cirete* and others, lie in this Space, coasting along the Borders of great Rivers Northwards; which are said to run about the length of *Indus* and *Ganges*, and all of them to rise from one mighty Lake in the Mountains of *Tartary*. But from none of these Kingdoms is known any other Way of Passage or Commerce into *China*, than by Sea.

From *Indostan*, or the *Mogul's* Country, there is none other usual; and such as travel from thence by Land, are forced to go many Degrees Northward before they turn to the East, to pass many Savage Kingdoms or Countries of the *Tartars*, to travel through vast Sandy Desarts, and other prodigious High and Steep Mountains, where no Carriage or Beast is able to pass, but only Men on Foot; and over one Mountain particularly esteemed the highest in the World; where the Air is so thin, that Men cannot travel over it without Danger of their Lives; and never in Summer without being poisoned by the Scent of certain Herbs that grow upon it; which is Mortal when they are in Flower. After Eight or Nine Months Journey from the
Mogul's

Mogul's Court, several Persons have travelled this Way, till they came to the Wall that defends or divides *China* from *Tartary*, and so to the Imperial City of *Peking*, situate in the Northern Parts of this mighty Region, which the *Chinese* call a World by it self; and esteem themselves the only reasonable and civilized People, having no Neighbours on Three Sides; and to the North, only the *Tartars*, whom they esteem but another Sort of Wild or Brutish Men; and therefore they say in common Proverb, *That the Chinese only see with Two Eyes, and all other Men but with One.*

By this Situation, and by a Custom or Law very ancient among them, of suffering no Stranger to come into their Country, or if they do, not permitting him to go out, or return any more to his own, this vast Continent continued very long, and wholly unknown to the rest of the World; and forasmuch as I can find, was first discovered to us by *Paulus Venetus*; who about Four hundred Years ago, made a Voyage from *Venice*, thro' *Armenia*, *Persia*, and several Parts of *Tartary*, to that which he names the Kingdom of *Cataya*, and to the famous City of *Cambalu*, (as he calls them) and
after

after Seventeen Years Residence of his Father and himself, in that Court of the Great *Cham*, returned to *Venice*, and left the World a large Account of this Voyage.

Since his Time, and within Two or Three Hundred Years, several Missionary Friars and Jesuits have upon Devotion or Command of their Superiors, pierced with infinite Pains and Dangers thro' these vast and savage Regions, some from the *Mogul's* Country, some thro' *Armenia* and *Persia*, and arrived at *Peking*; which I make no question, (by comparing all their several Accounts and Relations) is the same famous City that is called *Cambalu* by *Paulus Venetus*, seated in the Northern Provinces of *China*, which is by him called *Cataya*. The reason of this difference in Names, was, that when *Paulus Venetus* was there, the *Cham* of East *Tartary*, called *Cataya*, had possessed himself by Conquest, of several Northern Provinces of *China*, as well as that of *Peking*, where he made his Residence, and which was like the rest of his Empire, called *Cataya*, and the chief City *Cambalu*, by a *Tartar* Name. After some time all these Provinces were again recovered by the

M Chinese,

Chineses, from the *Tartars*, and returned to their old *Chinese* Appellations; and the King of *China*, who then expelled the *Tartars*, fixed the Seat of his Empire at *Peking*, (which had been formerly at *Nanking* and at *Quinsay*) that the Force of his Armies lying thereabouts, might be ready to defend that Frontier against the furious Invasions of the *Tartars*, whereof they had several times felt the Rage and Danger.

After this Recovery, *China* continued in Peace, and prosperous under their own Emperors, till about the Year 1616, when the *Tartars* again invaded them, and after a long and bloody War, of above Thirty Years, in the end made themselves absolute Masters of the whole Kingdom, and so it has ever since continued.

This Region, commonly known by the Name of *China*, extends about Eighteen hundred Miles, or Thirty Degrees of Northern and Southern Latitude. It is not esteemed so much of Longitude; but this is more uncertain, the Journey thro' the whole Country from East to West having not, that I find, been ever performed by any *Europeans*; and the Accounts taken only from Report of the

the Natives. Nor is it easily agreed, where the Habitable Parts of *China* determine Westward, since some Authors say, they end in Mountains, stored only with Wild Beasts and Wild Men, that have neither Laws nor Language, nor other Commerce with the *Chineses*, than by Descents sometimes made upon them, for Rapines or for Rapes : And other Authors say, There are such inaccessible Mountains even in the midst of *China*, so as the first Accounts may have left out great Countries beyond these Mountains, which they took for the utmost Border of this Kingdom.

Whatever Length it has, which by none is esteemed less than Twelve or Thirteen hundred Miles ; It must be allowed to be the Greatest, Richest and most Populous Kingdom now known in the World ; and will perhaps be found to owe its Riches, Force, Civility and Felicity, to the admirable Constitution of its Government, more than any other.

This Empire consists of Fifteen several Kingdoms, which at least have been so of old, tho' now governed as Provinces, by their several Viceroys, who yet live in Greatness, Splendor and

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Riches,

Riches, equal to the great and Sovereign Kings. In the whole Kingdom, are One hundred and forty five Capital Cities, of mighty Extent and magnificent Building, and One thousand three hundred twenty and one lesser Cities, but all walled round; the number of Villages is infinite, and no Country in the known World so full of Inhabitants, nor so improved by Agriculture, by infinite Growth of numerous Commodities, by Canals, of incredible Length, Conjunctions of Rivers, Convenience of Ways for the Transportation of all Sorts of Goods and Commodities from one Province to another, so as no Country has so great Trade, tho' till very lately, they never had any but among themselves; and what there is now Foreign among them, is not driven by the *Chineses* going out of their Country to manage it, but only by the Permission of the *Portugueses* and *Dutch*, to come and trade in some Skirts of their Southern Provinces.

For Testimonies of their Greatness, I shall only add what is agreed of their famous Wall, and of their City *Peking*. The Stone-Wall which divides the Northern Parts of *China* from *Tartary*, is reckoned

reckoned by some Twelve, by others Nine hundred Miles long, running over Rocks and Hills, through Marshes and Deserts, and making way for Rivers by mighty Arches. It is Forty five Foot high, and Twenty Foot thick at the bottom, divided at certain Spaces by great Towers. It was built above Two thousand Years ago, but with such admirable Architecture, that where some Gaps have not been broken down by the *Tartars* upon their Irruptions, the rest is still as entire, as when it was first built. The King that raised this Wall, appointed a Million of Soldiers, who were Listed and Paid, for the Defence of it against the *Tartars*, and took their Turns by certain Numbers, at certain Times, for the Guard of this Frontier.

The Imperial City of *Peking* is nothing so large as several other Cities of *China*, (whereof *Nanking* is esteemed the greatest) but is a regular Four-Square; the Wall of each Side is Six Miles in length. In each of these Sides are Three Gates, and on each Side of each Gate are great Palaces or Forts for the Guards belonging to them, which are a Thousand Men to each Gate. The Streets run quite cross, with a

through View and Passage from each Gate to that which is overagainst it in the opposite Side ; and these Streets are ranged full of stately Houses.

The Palace of the Emperor is Three Miles in Compass, consisting of Three Courts, one within the other, whereof the last (where the Emperor lodges) is Four hundred Paces Square. The other two are filled with his Domesticks, Officers and Guards, to the Number of Sixteen thousand Persons. Without these Courts are large and delicious Gardens, many artificial Rocks and Hills, Streams of Rivers drawn into several Canals faced with square Stone, and the whole achieved with such admirable Invention, Cost and Workmanship, that nothing Ancient or Modern seems to come near it ; and all served with such Magnificence, Order and Splendour, that the Audience of a Foreign Ambassador at *Peking*, seems a Sight as Great and Noble, as one of the Triumphs at *Rome*.

As other Nations are usually distinguish'd into Noble and Plebeian, so that of *China* may be distinguish'd into Learned and Illiterate. The last makes up the Body or Mass of the People who
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are govern'd ; the first comprehends all the Magistrates that govern, and those who may in time or course succeed them in the Magistracy ; for no other than the Learned are ever employed in the Government, nor any in the greatest Charges, that are not of those Ranks or Degrees of Learning, that make them termed Sages, or Philosophers, or Doctors among them.

But to comprehend what this Government of *China* is, and what the Persons employed in it, there will be a Necessity of knowing what their Learning is, and how it makes them fit for Government, very contrary to what ours in *Europe* is observed to do, and the reason of such different Effects from the same Cause.

The two great Heroes of the *Chinese* Nation were *Fohu* and *Confuchu*, whose Memories have always continued among them Sacred and Adored. *Fohu* lived about Four thousand Years ago, and was the first Founder of their Kingdom ; the Progress whereof has ever since continued upon their Records so clear, that they are esteemed by the Missionary Jesuits unquestionable and infallible. For after the Death of

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every King, the Successor appoints certain Persons to write the Memorable Actions of his Predecessors Reign, and of these, an Epitome is afterwards drawn and entred into their Registers. *Fohu* first reduced them from the common Original Lives of Mankind, introduced Agriculture, Wedlock, Distinction of Sexes by different Habits, Laws and Orders of Government; He invented Characters, and left several short Tables or Writings of Astronomy, or Observations of the Heavens, or Morality, of Physick, and Political Government. The Characters he used, seem to have been partly straight Lines of different Lengths, and distinguish'd by different Points; and partly Hieroglyphicks; and these in time were followed by Characters, of which each expressed one Word,

In these several ways, were for many Centuries, composed many Books among the *Chineses*, in many sorts of Learning, especially Natural and Moral Philosophy, Astronomy, Astrology, Physick and Agriculture.

Something above Two thousand Years ago, lived *Confuciu*, the most Learned, Wise and Virtuous of all the *Chineses*; and for whom

whom both the King and Magistrates, in his own Age, and all of them in the Ages since, seem to have had the greatest Deference that has any where been rendered to any Mortal Man. He writ many Tracts, and in them digested all the Learning of the Ancients, even from the first Writing or Tables of *Fohu*, at least, all that he thought necessary or useful to Mankind, in their Personal, Civil or Political Capacities; which were then received and since prosecuted with so great Esteem and Veneration, that none has questioned whatever he writ, but admitted it, as the truest and best Rules of Opinion and Life; so that 'tis enough in all Argument, that *Confuchu* has said it.

Some time after, lived a King, who to raise a new Period of Time from his own Name and Reign, endeavoured to abolish the Memory of all that had passed before him, and caused all Books to be burnt, except those of Physick and Agriculture. Out of this Ruin to Learning, escaped, either by Chance, or some Private Industry, the Epitoms or Registers of the several Successions of their Kings since *Fohu*, and the Works of *Confuchu*, or at least a Part of them, which have lately in *France*,
been

been Printed in the Latin Tongue, with a Learned Preface, by some of the Missionary Jesuits, under the Title of the Works of *Confutius*.

After the Death of this Tyrannous and Ambitious King, these Writings came abroad; and being the only Remainders of the Ancient *Chinese* Learning, were received with general Applause, or rather Veneration: Four Learned Men having long addicted themselves to the Study of these Books, writ Four several Tracts or Comments upon them; and one of the succeeding Kings made a Law, that no other Learning should be taught, studied or exercised, but what was extracted out of these Five Books; and so Learning has ever since continued in *China*, wholly confined to the Writings of these Five Men, or rather to those of their Prince of Philosophers, the Great and Renowned *Confutius*.

The Sum of his Writings seems to be a Body or Digestion of Ethicks, that is, of all Moral Virtues, either Personal, Oeconomical, Civil or Political; and framed for the Institution and Conduct of Mens Lives, their Families and their Governments, but chiefly of the
last;

last ; the Bent of his Thoughts and Reasonings, running up and down this Scale, that no People can be happy but under good Governments, and no Governments happy but over good Men ; and that for the Felicity of Mankind, all Men in a Nation, from the Prince to the meanest Peasant, should endeavour to be Good and Wise, and Virtuous as far as his own Thoughts, the Precepts of others, or the Laws of his Country can instruct him.

The chief Principles he seems to lay down for a Foundation, and builds upon, is, That every Man ought to study and endeavour the improving and perfecting of his own Natural Reason, to the greatest Height he is capable, so as he may never (or as seldom as can be) err and swerve from the Law of Nature, in the Course and Conduct of his Life : That this being not to be done without much Thought, Inquiry and Diligence, makes Study and Philosophy necessary ; which teaches Men what is Good and what is Bad, either in its own Nature or for theirs ; and consequently what is to be done and what to be avoided, by every Man in his several Station or Capacity. That in
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this Perfection of Natural Reason, consists the Perfection of Body and Mind, and the utmost or supreme Happiness of Mankind. That the Means and Rules to attain this Perfection, are chiefly not to will or desire any thing but what is consonant to his Natural Reason, nor any thing that is not agreeable to the Good and Happiness of other Men, as well as our own. To this end is prescribed the constant Course and Practice of the several Virtues, known and agreed so generally in the World; among which, Courtesie or Civility, and Gratitude, are Cardinal with them. In short, the whole Scope of all *Confutius* has writ, seems aimed only at teaching Men to live well, and to govern well; how Parents, Masters and Magistrates should rule, and how Children, Servants and Subjects should obey.

All this, with the many particular Rules and Instructions, for either Personal, Oeconomical, or Political Wisdom and Virtue, is discoursed by him, with great Compass of Knowledge, Excellence of Sense, Reach of Wit, and illustrated with Elegance of Stile and Aptness of Similitudes and Examples, as may be easily conceived by any that
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can allow for the Lameness and Shortness of Translations out of Language and Manners of Writing, infinitely differing from ours. So as the Man appears to have been of a very extraordinary Genius, of mighty Learning, admirable Virtue, excellent Nature, a true Patriot of his Country, and Lover of Mankind.

This is the Learning of the *Chineses*, and all other Sorts are either disused or ignoble among them; all that which we call Scholastick or Polemick, is unknown or unpractised, and serves, I fear, among us, for little more, than to raise Doubts and Disputes, Heats and Feuds, Animosities and Factions, in all Controversies of Religion or Government. Even Astrology and Physick, and Chymistry, are but ignoble Studies, tho' there are many among them that excel in all these; and the Astrologers are much in Vogue among the Vulgar, as well as their Predictions; the Chymists apply themselves chiefly to the Search of the Universal Medicine, for Health and Length of Life, pretending to make Men Immortal, if they can find it out: The Physicians excel in the Knowledge of the Pulse, and of all simple Medicines, and go little further; but in the first, are so skilful

skilful, as they pretend not only to tell by it, how many Hours or Days a sick Man can last, but how many Years a Man in perfect seeming Health may live, in case of no Accident or Violence. And by Simples they pretend to relieve all Diseases that Nature will allow to be cured. They never Let Blood, but say, if the Pot boils too fast, there is no need of lading out any of the Water, but only of taking away the Fire from under it; and so they allay all Heats of the Blood, by Abstinence, Dyet, and cooling Herbs.

But all this Learning is Ignoble and Mechanical among them, and the *Confutian* only Essential and Incorporate to their Government; into which none enters without having first passed thro' the several Degrees. To attain it, is first necessary the Knowledge of their Letters or Characters; and to this must be applied at least Ten or Twelve Years Study and Diligence, and Twenty for great Perfection in it: For by all I can gather but of so many Authors as have written of *China*, they have no Letters at all, but only so many Characters, expressing so many Words: These are said by some, to be Sixty, by others Eighty, and by others Sixscore thousand; and

and upon the whole, their Writing seems to me to be like that of Short-hand among us, in case there were a different Character invented for every Word in our Language. Their Writing is neither from the Left Hand to Right like the *European*, nor from Right to Left like the *Asiatick* Languages, but from Top to Bottom of the Paper in one strait Line, and then beginning again at the Top till the Side be full.

The Learning of *China* therefore consists first in the Knowledge of their Language, and next, in the Learning, Study and Practice of the Writings of *Confutius* and his four great Disciples; and as every Man grows more perfect in both these, so he is more esteemed and advanced; nor is it enough to have read *Confutius*, unless it be discovered by retaining the Principal Parts of him in their Memories, and the Practice of him in their Lives.

The Learned among them are promoted by Three Degrees: The First may resemble that of Sophisters in our Colleges after Two or Three Years standing; and this Degree is conferred by Publick Examiners Appointed for that Purpose; who go through the Chief Cities
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of each Province once a Year, and upon Scrutiny, admit such of the Candidates as they approve, to this Degree, Register their Names, and give them a Badge belonging to this first Form of the Learned.

The Second Degree is promoted with more Form, and performed once in Three Years, in a great College built for that Purpose in the Chief City of each Kingdom; by several Examiners Appointed by the King, and strict Enquiries and Questions both of Language and Learning, and much Critick upon the several Writings, produced by the several Pretenders, and submitted to the Examiners. This Degree may resemble that of Masters of Arts in our Colleges, and is conferred with a New Badge belonging to it.

The Third Degree may be compared to that of Doctors among us in any of our Sciences, and is never conferred but in the Imperial City of *Peking*, with great Forms and Solemnities, after much Examining, and Deliberation of the Persons appointed for that Purpose; and of this Degree there are never to be above Three hundred at a time in the whole Empire, besides such as are actually

ally in the Magistracy or Government; who are all chosen out of the Persons that have commenced or attained this Degree of Learning. Upon the taking each Degree, they repair to a Temple of *Confutius*, which is erected in each City, and adjoins to the Colleges; and there they perform the Worship and Ceremonies appointed in Honour of his Memory, as the Great Prince or Hero of the Learned.

Of these Persons all their Councils, and all their Magistracies are composed; out of these are chosen all their Chief Officers and Mandarines, both Civil and Military. With these the Emperors and Viceroy of Provinces, and Generals of Armies advise upon all great Occasions; and their Learning and Virtue make them esteemed more able for the Execution and Discharge of all Publick Employments, than the longest Practice and Experience in other Countries; and when they come into Armies, they are found Braver and more Generous in exposing their Lives upon all great Occasions, than the boldest Soldiers of their Troops.

Now for the Government, it is Absolute Monarchy, there being no other

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Laws

Laws in *China*, but the King's Orders and Commands; and it is likewise Hereditary, still descending to the next of Blood.

But all Orders and Commands of the King proceed through his Councils, and are made upon the Recommendation or Petition of the Council proper and appointed for that Affair; so that all Matters are debated, determined, and concluded by the several Councils; and then upon their Advices or Requests made to the King, they are ratified and signed by him, and so pass into Laws.

All great Offices of State are likewise conferred by the King, upon the same Recommendations or Petitions of his several Councils; so that none are preferred by the Humour of the Prince himself, nor by Favour of any Minister, by Flattery or Corruption, but by Force or Appearance of Merit, of Learning, and of Virtue; which observed by the several Councils, gain their Recommendations or Petitions to the King.

The Chief Officers are either those of State residing constantly at Court, and by whom the whole Empire is governed, or the Provincial Officers, Viceroy, and Magistrates or Mandarines:

For

For the First, there are in the Imperial City at *Peking*, Six several Councils ; or, as some Authors affirm, one great Council, that divides it self into Six smaller, but distinct Branches. Some Difference is also made by Writers, concerning the Nature or the Business of these Councils. But that which seems most generally agreed, is, That the First of these Six is a Council of State, by whom all Officers through the whole Kingdom are chosen according to their Learning and Merit. The Second is the Council of Treasury, which has Inspection into the whole Revenue, and the Receipts and Payments that are made in or out of it. The Third takes care of the Temples, Offerings, Feasts and Ceremonies belonging to them ; as likewise of Learning, and the Schools or Colleges designed for it. The Fourth is the Council of War, which disposes of all Military Offices and Honours, and all Matters of War and Peace, that is by the King's Command issued upon their Representations. The Fifth takes care of all the Royal or Publick Buildings, and of their Fleets. And the Sixth is a Council or Court of Justice or Judicature, in all Causes both Civil and Criminal.

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Each

Each of these Councils has a President and two Assistants or chief Secretaries, whereof one sits at his Right, and the other on his Left Hand; who digest and register the Debates and Orders of the Council. And besides these, there are in each Council Ten Counsellors.

By these Councils the whole Empire of *China* is govern'd through all the several Kingdoms that compose it; and they have in each Province particular Officers, Intendants and Notaries; from whom they receive constant Accounts, and to whom they send constant Instructions concerning all Passages or Affairs of Moment in any of the several Provinces of the Kingdom.

There are, besides these Six, several smaller Councils; as one for the Affairs of the King's Women, for his Household, and his Domestick Chancery or Justice. But above all, is the Council of the *Colaos*, or chief Ministers, who are seldom above Five or Six in Number, but Persons of the most consummate Prudence and Experience; who after having passed, with great Applause, through the other Councils or Governments of Provinces, are at last advanced to

to this Supreme Dignity, and serve as a Privy-Council, or rather a *Junto*, sitting with the Emperor himself; which is allowed to none of the others. To these are presented all the Results or Requests of the other Councils; and being by their Advice approved, they are by the Emperor signed and ratified, and so dispatched.

These are always attended by some of the Chiefest and most Renowned Philosophers or Sages of the Kingdom; who attend the Emperor, and serve him in receiving all Petitions, and give their Opinions upon them to the Emperor or the *Colaos*; as also upon any Matters of great Moment and Difficulty, when they are consulted: And these are chosen out of two Assemblies residing at *Peking*, and consisting of Sixty Men each; but all choice Persons, whose Wisdom and Virtue are generally known and applauded. They are employed in all Matters of Learning, and giving necessary Orders therein; keeping all the Publick Writings, and ordering and digesting them; registering all Laws and Orders of State; and out of these are appointed by each succeeding King, some Persons to relate and

register the Times and Actions of his Predecessor. They are at their Leisure much given to Poetry ; in which, they compile the Praises of Virtuous Men and Actions, Satyrs against Vice, Inscriptions for Monuments and Triumphal Arches, and such like Compositions, And Lastly, out of these (as they grow in Esteem and Fame of Wisdom and Virtue) are chosen and advanced by Degrees, the Officers of State, and Counsellors in the several Councils; and none ever arrives to be a *Colao*, that has not been one of these two Assemblies.

Each particular Kingdom of the Empire, has the same Councils, or some very like them for the Government of that particular Province; but there is besides in each, a Surintendant, sent more immediately from Court, to inspect the course of Affairs; a Censor of Justice and Manners, without whose Approval, no Capital Sentences are to be executed; and a Third Officer employed by the Empress, in the nature of an Almoner; whose Business is only that of Charity, and Relief of the Poor and Distressed, and setting free Prisoners upon small Debts or Offences; there

is

is besides, in each Province, a particular Council, to take care of Learning, and to appoint Rules and Examiners for the several Degrees thereof.

It were endless to enumerate all the excellent Orders of this State, which seem contrived by a Reach of Sense and Wisdom, beyond what we meet with, in any other Government of the World; but by some few, the rest may be judged.

Each Prince of the Royal Blood has a Revenue assigned him, and a City where he is bound to reside, and never to stir out of it, without the Emperor's leave. All Degrees of People are distinguish'd by their Habit, and the several Officers by several Badges upon them: And the Colour worn by the Emperor, which is Yellow, is never used by any other Person whatsoever. Every House has a Board over the Door, wherein is written the Number, Sex and Quality of the Persons living in it; and to a certain Number of Houses, one is appointed to inspect the rest, and take care that this be exactly done. None is admitted to bear Office in any Province where he was born, unless it be Military; which is grounded up-

on the Belief, that in Matters of Justice Men will be partial to their Friends, but in those of War, Men will fight best for their own Country. None ever continues in any Office above Three Years, unless upon a New Election; and none put out for Miscarriage in his Office, is again admitted to any Employment. The two great Hinges of all Governments, Reward and Punishment, are no where turned with greater Care, nor exercised with more Bounty and Severity. Their Justice is rigorous upon all Offences against the Law, but none more exemplary, than upon Corruption in Judges. Besides this, Inquisition is made into their Ignorance and Weakness, and even into Carelessness and Rashness in their Sentences; and as the first is punished with Death, so these are with Dismission and Disgrace. The Rewards of Honour, (besides those of Advancement) are conferred by Patents from the Emperor, expressing Merits and granting Privileges, by Pillars of Marble with elegant and honorary Inscriptions: And to Merit extraordinary towards the Prince and Country, even by erecting Temples, offering Incense, and appointing Priests
for

for the Service of them. Agriculture is encouraged by so many special Privileges from the Crown, and the Common Laws or Customs of the Country, that whatever Wars happen, the Tillers of the Ground are untouched, as if they were Sacred, like Priests in other Places; so as no Country in the World was ever known to be so cultivated, as the whole Kingdom of *China*. Honour and Respect, is no where paid to Nobility and Riches so much, as it is here to Virtue and Learning, which are equally regarded, both by the Prince and the People: And the Advancement to Office of Persons only for excelling in those Qualities, prevents the Cankers of Envy and Faction, that corrupt and destroy so many other Governments. Every one seeking Preferment here, only by Merit, attributes to it that of other Men. Tho' the King be the most absolute in the World, since there are no other Laws in *China* but what he makes; yet all Matters being first digested and represented by his Councils, the Humours and Passions of the Prince enter not into the Forms or Conduct of the Government, but his personal Favours to Men or Women, are distributed

distributed in the Preferments of his Household, or out of the vast Revenue that is particularly applied to it, for Support of the greatest Expence and Magnificence that appears in any Palace of the World. So that it may truly be said, that no King is better Served and Obeyed, more Honoured or rather Adored; and no People better govern'd, nor with greater Ease and Felicity.

Upon these Foundations and Institutions, by such Methods and Orders, the Kingdom of *China* seems to be framed and policed with the utmost Force and Reach of Human Wisdom, Reason and Contrivance; and in Practice to excel the very Speculations of other Men, and all those imaginary Schemes of the *European* Wits, the Institutions of *Xenophon*, the Republick of *Plato*, the *Utopia's* or *Oceana's* of our Modern Writers. And this will perhaps be allowed by any that considers the Vastness, the Opulence, the Populousness of this Region, with the Ease and Facility wherewith 'tis govern'd, and the Length of Time this Government has run. The last is three times longer than that of the *Assyrian Monarchy*, which was Thirteen

teen hundred Years, and the longest Period of any Government we meet with in Story. The Numbers of People and of their Forces, the Treasures and Revenues of the Crown, as well as Wealth and Plenty of the Subjects, the Magnificence of their Publick Buildings and Works would be incredible, if they were not confirmed by the concurring Testimonies of *Paulus Venetus*, *Martinus Kercherus*, with several other Relations, in *Italian*, *Portuguese* and *Dutch*; either by Missionary Friars, or Persons employ'd thither upon Trade or Embassies upon that Occasion: Yet the whole Government is represented, as a thing managed with as much Facility, Order and Quiet, as a common Family; tho' some Writers affirm the Number of People in *China*, before the last *Tartar* Wars, to have been above Two hundred Millions. Indeed the Canals cut through the Country, or made by Conjunctions of Rivers, are so infinite, and of such Lengths, and so perpetually filled with Boats and Vessels of all Kinds, that one Writer believes there are near as many People in these, and the Ships wherewith their Havens are filled, who live upon the Water, as those upon the Land.

'Tis

'Tis true, that as Physicians say, the highest Degree of Health in a Body, subjects it to the greatest Danger and Violence of some Disease ; so the Perfection of this Government or Constitution, has had the same Effect, joined with the Accident of their Situation, upon such a Neighbour as the *Tartars*. For these, by the Hardness and Poverty of their Country and their Lives, are the Boldest and the Fiercest People in the World, and the most Enterprizing. On t'other side, the Excellence of the *Chinese* Wit and Government, renders them, by great Ease, Plenty and Luxury, in time Effeminate, and thereby exposes them to frequent Attempts and Invasions of their Savage Neighbours. Three several times, upon their Records, the *Tartars* have conquered great Parts of the Kingdom of *China*, and after long Establishments there, have been expelled. Till (as we said before) about the Year 1650, they atchieved the compleat and intire Conquest of the whole Empire after a bloody War of above Thirty Years. But the Force of this Constitution and Government, appears in no Circumstance or Light, so great as in this, that it has waded safe through so
great

great Tempests and Inundations, as Six Changes of Race among their Kings by Civil Wars, and Four Conquests by Foreign and Barbarous Forces. For under the present *Tartar* Kings, the Government continues still the same, and in the Hands of the *Chinese* Learned ; and all the Change that appears to have been made by such a Storm or Revolution, has been only, That a *Tartar* Race sits in the Throne instead of a *Chinese* ; and the Cities and strong places are Garrison'd by *Tartar* Soldiers, who fall by degrees into the Manners, Customs and Language of the *Chineses*. So great a Respect, or rather Veneration, is paid to this Wise and Admirable Constitution, even by its Enemies and Invaders, that both Civil Usurpers, and Foreign Conquerors, vie with Emulation, who shall make greatest Court, and give most Support to it, finding no other Means to secure their own Safety and Ease, by the Obedience of the People, than the Establishment and Preservation of their Ancient Constitutions and Government.

The great Idea which may be conceived of the *Chinese* Wisdom and Knowledge, as well as their Wit, Ingenuity and Civility, by all we either read or see

see of them, is apt to be lessened by their gross and sottish Idolatry ; but this it self is only among the Vulgar or Illiterate, who Worship after their Manner, whatever Idols belong to each City, or Village or Family ; and the Temples and Priests belonging to them, are in usual Request among the common People and the Women. But the Learned adore the Spirit of the World, which they hold to be Eternal ; and this without Temples, Idols or Priests. And the Emperor only is allowed to Sacrifice at certain Times, by himself or his Officers, at two Temples in the two Imperial Cities of *Peking* and *Nanking* ; one dedicated to Heaven, and t'other to the Earth.

This I mention, to shew how the furthest East and West may be found to agree in Notions of Divinity, as well as in Excellence of Civil or Politick Constitutions, by passing at one Leap from these of *China*, to those of *Peru*.

SECT.

S E C T. III.

TIS known enough, that about the Year 1484, *Alonso Sanchez*, Master of a *Spanish* Vessel, that usually traded from those Coasts to the *Canaries* and *Madera's*, was in his Passage between these Islands, surprized with a furious Storm at East, so violent, that he was forced to let his Ship drive before it without any Sail; and so black, that within Twenty eight Days he could not take the Height of the Sun. That he was at length cast upon a Shore, but whether Island or Continent, he could not tell, but full of Savage People. That after infinite Toils, Dangers and Miseries of Hunger and Sickness, he made at length one of the *Tercera* Islands, with only Five Men left of Seventeen he carried out; and meeting there with the Famous *Columbo*, made him such Relations, and so pertinent Accounts of his Voyage, as gave Occasion for the Discovery of *America*, or the *West-Indies*,
by

by this Man so renowned in our Modern Story.

Whatever Predictions have been since found out, or applied towards the Discovery of this New World, or Stories told of a certain Prince in *Wales*, having run the same Fortune, or of the ancient *Carthaginians*, I do not find, by all I have read upon this Subject, any Reason to believe, that any Mortals, from *Europe* or *Africa*, had ever traced these unknown Paths of that Western Ocean, or left the least Foot-steps of having discovered those Countries, before *Alonso Sanchez* and his Crew. Upon the Arrival of the *Spaniards* there with *Columbus*, they found Nature as naked as the Inhabitants; in most Parts no Thought of Business, further than the most Natural Pleasures or Necessities of Life; Nations divided by natural Bounds of Rivers, Rocks or Mountains, or difference of Language; Quarrels among them, only for Hunger or Lust; the Command in Wars, given to the Strongest or the Bravest; and in Peace, taken up or exercised by the Boldest among them; and their Lives commonly spent in the most innocent Entertainments of Hunting, Fishing, Feast-

Feasting, or in the most careless leisure.

There were among them many Principalities, that seemed to have grown up, from the Original of Paternal Dominion, and some Communities with Orders and Laws ; but the two great Dominions, were those of *Mexico* and *Pern*, which had arrived to such Extent of Territory, Power and Riches, that amazed those, who had been enough acquainted with the Greatness and Splendor of the *European* Kingdoms. And I never met with any Story so entertaining, as the Relations of the several Learned *Spanish* Jesuits and others, concerning these Countries and People, in their Native Innocence and Simplicity. *Mexico* was so vast an Empire, that it was well represented by the common Answer of the *Indians*, all along that Coast, to the *Spaniards*, when they came to any part, and asked the People whether they were under *Montezuma*, *Quien no es esclavo de Montezuma?* Or, *Who is not a Slave of Montezuma?* As if they thought the whole World was so. They might truly call it Slave, for no Dominion was ever so Absolute, so Tyrannous, and so Cruel

as his. Among other Tributes imposed on the People, one was of Men to be Sacrificed every Year to an Ugly Deformed Idol, in the great Temple of *Mexico*. Such numbers as the King pleased of poor Victims, were laid upon such Extents of Cities or Villages, or Numbers of Inhabitants, and there chosen by Lot, to satisfy such Bloody and Inhuman Taxes. These were often Influenced by the Priests, who when they saw Men grow Negligent, either in respect to themselves, or Devotion to their Idols, would send to tell the King, That the Gods were Hungry, and thereupon, the common Tribute was raised; so as that Year, the *Spaniards* Landed and Invaded *Mexico*, there had been above Thirty Thousand Men Sacrificed to this Cruel Superstition. And this was said to have given great occasion for the easy Conquests of the *Spaniards*, by the willing Revolts and Submissions of the Natives to any new Dominion.

The same was observed to happen in *Pernu*, by the general Hatred and Aversion of the People in that Empire to *Atahualpa*, who being a Bastard of the *Ynca's* Family, had first by Practices and Sub-

Subtilty, and afterwards by Cruelty and Violence, raised himself to the Throne of *Peru*, and cut off with Merciless Cruelty, all the Masculine Race of the true Royal Blood, that were at Man's Estate, or near it, after that Line had lasted pure and sacred, and Reigned with unspeakable Felicity, both to themselves and their Subjects, for above Eight Hundred Years.

This Kingdom is said to have extended near Seven Hundred Leagues in Length, from North to South, and about an Hundred and Twenty in Breadth : 'Tis bounded on the West by the *Pacifick* Ocean; on the East by Mountains impassable for Men or Beasts, and as some write, even Birds themselves; the height being such, as makes their tops always covered with Snow, even in that warm Region. On the North 'tis bounded with a great River, and on the South with another, which separates it from the Province of *Chili*, that reaches to the *Megallen* Straits.

The Kingdom of *Peru* deduced its Original from their great Heroes, *Mango Copac*, and his Wife and Sister *Coya Mama*, who are said to have first appeared in that Country, near a mighty
O 2 Lake,

Lake, which is still Sacred with them upon this occasion.

Before this time, the People of these Countries are reported to have lived like the Beasts among them, without any Traces of Orders, Laws or Religion, without other Food than from the Trees or the Herbs, or what Game they could catch, without further Provision than for present Hunger, without any Cloathing or Houses, but dwelt in Rocks or Caves, or Trees, to be secure from Wild Beasts, or in Tops of Hills, if they were in fear of fierce Neighbours. When *Mango Copac*, and his Sister, came first into these naked Lands, as they were Persons of excellent Shape and Beauty, so they were adorned with such Cloaths as continued afterwards the usual habit of the *Ynca's*, by which Name they called themselves. They told the People who came first about them, that they were the Son and Daughter of the *Sun*, and that their Father, taking pity of the miserable Condition of Mankind, had sent them down to reclaim them from those bestial Lives, and to instruct them how to live happily and safely, by observing such Laws, Customs and Orders, as their Father the *Sun* had com-

commanded these his Children to teach them. The great Rule they first taught was. That every Man should live according to Reason, and consequently, neither say nor do any thing to others, that they were not willing others should say or do to them, because it was against all common Reason, to make one Law for our selves, and another for other people. And this was the great principle of all their Morality. In the next place, that they should worship the *Sun*, who took care of the whole World, gave life to all Creatures, and made the Plants grow, and the Herbs fit for Food to maintain them; and was so careful and so good, as to spare no pains of his own, but to go round the World every day, to inspect and provide for all that was upon it, and had sent these his two Children down on purpose, for the good and happiness of Mankind, and to Rule them with the same care and goodness that he did the World. After this, they taught them the Arts most necessary for Life, as *Mango Copac*, to sow *Mayz* (or the common Indian Grain) at certain seasons, to preserve it against others, to build Houses against Inclemencies of Air, and danger of

Wild-Beasts, to distinguish themselves by Wedlock into several Families, to cloath themselves, so as to cover at least the shame of Nakedness, to tame and nourish such Creatures as might be of common use and sustenance. *Coya Mama* taught the Women to Spin and Weave, both Cotton, and certain coarse Woolls of some Beasts among them.

With these Instructions and Inventions they were so much believed in all they said, and adored for what they did and taught of common Utility, that they were followed by great numbers of People, observ'd and obey'd like Sons of the *Sun*, sent down from Heaven to instruct and to govern them. *Mango Copac* had in his Hand a Rod of Gold, about two Foot long, and five Inches round. He said, that his Father, the *Sun*, had given it him, and bid him when he Travelled Northward from the Lake, he should every time he rested, strike this Wand down into the Ground, and where at the first stroke it should go down to the very top, he should there build a Temple to the *Sun*, and fix the Seat of his Government.

This

This fell out to be in the Vale of *Coxco*, where he founded that City, which was Head of this great Kingdom of *Pern*.

Here he divided his Company into two Colonies or Plantations, and called one the high *Casco*, and t'other the low, and began here to be a Lawgiver to these People. In each of these were at first a Thousand Families, which he caused all to be Registred, with the numbers in each. This he did by strings of several Colours, and Knots of several Kinds and Colours upon them, by which, both Accounts were kept of things and times, and as much expressed of their Minds, as was necessary in Government, where neither Letters nor Money, nor consequently Disputes or Avarice, with their Consequences, ever entred.

He instituted Decurions thro' both these Colonies, that is, one over every Ten Families, another over Fifty, a third over a Hundred, a fourth over Five Hundred, and a fifth over a Thousand; and to this last, they gave the name of a Curaca or Governour. Every Decurion was a Censor, a Patron, and a Judge or Arbiter in small Controversies among

those under his charge. They took care that every one cloathed themselves, laboured, and lived according to the orders given them by the *Ynca's*, from their Father the *Sun*; among which one was, That none who could work, should be idle, more than to rest after labour; and that none who could not work, by Age, Sicknes. or Invalidity, should want, but be maintain'd by the others Pains. These were so much observed, that in the whole Empire of *Peru*, and during the long Race of the *Ynca* Kings, no Beggar was ever known, and no Woman ever so much as went to see a Neighbour, but with their Work in their Hands, which they followed all the time the Visit lasted. Upon this, I remember a strain of Refin'd Civility among them, which was, That when any Woman went to see another of equal, or ordinary Birth, she Worked at her own Work in the other's House, but if she made a Visit to any of the Palla's, (which was the name by which they called all the Women of the true Royal Blood, as *Ynca's* was that of the Men) then they immediately desired the Palla to give them a piece of her own Work, and the Visit passed in working for her.

Idle-

Idleness, sentenced by the Decurions, was punish'd by so many Stripes in Publick, and the Disgrace was more sensible than the Pain. Every Colony had one supream Judge, to whom the lower *Decurions* remitted great and difficult cases, or to whom in (such case) the Criminals appealed. But every Decurion that concealed any Crime of those under his Charge above a day and a night, became Guilty of it, and liable to the same Punishment. There were Laws or Orders likewise against Theft, Mutilations, Murthers, Disobedience to Officers, and Adulteries (for every Man was to have one lawful Wife, but had the Liberty of keeping other Women, as he could). The Punishment of all Crimes, was either Corporal Pains, or Death, but commonly the last, upon these two reasons which they gave; first, That all Crimes, whether great or small, were of the same nature, and deserved the same punishment, if they were committed against the Divine Commands, which were sent them down from the *Sun* : Next, That to punish any Man in his Possessions or Charges, and leave him alive, and in strength and liberty, was to leave an ill Man more incensed,
or

or necessitated to commit new Crimes. On t'other side, they never forfeited the Charge or Possessions of a Son for his Father's Offences, but the Judges only remonstrated to him the guilt and punishment of them for his warning or example. These Orders had so great Force and Effect, that many times a whole Year passed without the Execution of one Criminal.

There is no doubt, but that which contributed much to this great order in the State, was the disuse of other possessions than what were necessary to Life, and the eminent Virtue of their first great Heroe, or Legislator, which seemed to have been entailed upon their whole Race, in the course of their Reign: So as in the whole length of it 'tis reported among them, that no true *Inca* was ever found guilty or punished for any Crime. Thus particular qualities have been observed in old *Rome*, to be constant in the same Families for several Hundred Years, as Goodness, Clemency, Love of the People, in that of the *Valerij*, Haughtiness, Pride, Cruelty, and Hatred of the People, in that of the *Appij*, which may come from the force of Blood, of Education, or Example.

ample. 'Tis certain no Government was ever established and continued by greater Examples of Virtue and Severity, nor any ever gave greater Testimonies, than the *Ynca's*, of an excellent Institution, by the progresses and successes, both in the propagation and extent of Empire, in force and plenty, in greatness and magnificence of all Publick Works, as Temples, Palaces, High ways, Bridges, and in all Provisions necessary to common ease, safety, and utility of human Life: So as several of the Jesuits, and particularly *Acosta*, are either so just or so presuming as to prefer the Civil Constitutions of *Mango Copac* before those of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, *Solon*, or any other Lawgivers so celebrated in the more known parts of the World.

To every Colony was assigned such a compass of Land, whereof one part was appropriated to the Sun; a second to the Widows, Orphans, Poor, Old or Maimed; a third to the peculiar maintenance of every Family, according to their number; and a fourth to the *Ynca*. In this order the whole was Tilled, and the Harvest or Product laid up in several Granaries; out of which
it

it was distributed by Officers to that purpose, according to the several uses for which it was designed, and new Seed issued out at the Season for the new Tillage.

Every Decurion, besides the Office of a Censor and Judge, had that likewise of a Patron or Solicitor, for relief of the Necessities or Wants of those under his Charge. They were bound to give in to the Publick Registers, an Account of all that were Born, and of all that dyed under their Charge. None was suffered to leave the Colony, or People he was Born in, without leave, nor to change the Habit commonly used in it, (by some parts or marks whereof those of each Province were distinguished.) None to Marry out of it, no more than the *Ynca's* out of their own Blood.

The *Ynca* that Reigned, was called *Capa Ynca*, which the *Spaniards* interpret *Solo Sennar*, or *Only Lord*. He Ever Married the first of his Female Kindred, either Sister, Niece, or Cousin, to preserve the Line the purest they could. once in two Years he assembled all the Unmarried *Yncas*, Men above Twenty, and Women above Sixteen Years Old, and there in Publick Married all such as he

he thought fit, by giving each of their Hands one to the other. The same was done among the Vulgar, by the Curaca of each People.

Every Family at their time of Meals, Eat with their Doors open, so that all might see their Temperance and Order.

By these and other such Laws and Institutions, *Mango Copac* first settled his Government or Kingdom in the Colonies of *Coxco*, which were in time multiplied into many others, by the willing confluence and recourse of many several People round about him, allured by the Divine Authority of his Orders, by the sweetness and clemency of his Reign, and by the Felicity of all that lived under it; and indeed, the whole Government of this Race of the *Inca's*, was rather like that of a tender Father over his Children, or a just, careful, and well-natur'd Guardian over Pupils, than of a Lord or Commander over Slaves or Subjects. By which they came to be so honoured or adored, that it was like Sacrilege for any common Person so much as to touch the *Inca* without his leave; which was given as a Grace to those who served him well,

well, or to new Subjects that submitted to him.

After the Extent of his Kingdom into great compasses of Territory round *Cotzco*, by voluntary submission of the People, as to some Evangelical, rather than Legal Doctrines or Institutions; *Mango Copac* assembled all his Curaca's, and told him, That his Father the *Sun*, had commanded him to extend his Institutions and Orders as far as he was able, for the good and happiness of Mankind; and for that purpose, with Armed Troops to go to those remoter Parts that had not yet receiv'd them, and to reduce them to their observance. That the Sun had commanded him to hurt or offend none that would submit to him, and thereby accept of the good and happiness that was offered him by such Divine Bounty, but to distress only such as refused, without killing any that did not assail them, and then to do it justly in their own Defence.

For this design, he formed and assembled Troops of Men, Armed both with Offensive, and chiefly with Defensive Weapons. He cast them into the Order of Decurions, in the same manner as he had done Families; to every

every Ten Men was one Officer, another to Fifty, and another to One Hundred, a Fourth to Five Hundred, and a Fifth to a Thousand. There was a Sixth over Five Thousand, and a Seventh as a General over Ten Thousand; of which number his first Army was composed

With this and other such Armies, he reduced many new Territories under his Empire, declaring to every People he approached, the same things he had done first to those who came about him near the great Lake; and offering them the benefit of the Arts he had taught, the Orders he had Instituted, the Protection he had given his Subjects, and the Felicity they enjoyed under it. Those who submitted were received into the same Rights and Enjoyments with the rest of his Subjects. Those who refused were distressed, and pursued by his Force till they were necessitated to accept of his Offers and Conditions. He used no Offensive Weapons against any till they Attacked them, and then Defensive only at first, till the danger and slaughter of his Men grew otherwise unavoidable; then he suffered his Forces to fall upon them, and kill without

out Mercy, and not to spare even those that yielded themselves, after having so long and obstinately Resisted. Those who submitted after the first Threats or Distresses, or Bloodless Opposition, he received into Grace, suffered them to touch his Sacred Person, made great and common Feasts for them and his own Soldiers together for several days, and then Incorporated them into the Body of his Empire and gave to each of them Cloaths to Wear, and Corn to Sow. •

By these ways, and such Heroick Virtues, and by the length of his Reign, he so far extended his Dominions, as to divide them into four Provinces, over each whereof he appointed an *Ynca* to be a Viceroy (having many Sons grown fit to Command); and in each of them established three Supream Councils, the first of Justice, the second of War, and the third of the Revenue, of which an *Ynca* was likewise President, which continued ever after.

At the end of a Long and Adored Reign, *Mango Copac* fell into the last Period of his Life ; upon the approach whereof, he called together all his Children and Grand-Children, with his eldest

est Son, to whom he left his Kingdom : And told them, that for his own part he was going to repose himself with his Father the *Sun*, from whom he came ; that he advised and charged them all, to go on in the paths of Reason and Virtue which he had taught them, till they followed him the same Journey ; that by this course only, they would prove themselves to be true Sons of the *Sun*, and be as such Honoured and Esteemed. He gave the same Charge more especially, and more earnestly to the *Inca* his Successor, and commanded him to Govern his People according to his Example, and the Precepts he had received from the *Sun* ; and to do it always with Justice, Mercy, Piety, Clemency, and Care of the Poor ; and when he the Prince should go in time to rest with his Father the *Sun*, that he should give the same Instructions and Exhortations to his Successor. And this Form was accordingly used in all the Successions of the Race of the *Inca's* which lasted Eight Hundred Years with the same Orders, and the greatest Felicity that could be of any State.

I will say nothing of the Greatness, Magnificence and Riches of their Build-

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ings ; .

ings, Palaces, or Temples, especially those of the *Sun*; of the Splendour of their Court, their Triumphs after Victories, their Huntings and Feasts, their Military Exercises and Honours. But as testimonies of their Grandeur, mention only two of their High-ways, whereof one was Five Hundred Leagues, plain and levelled through Mountains, Rocks and Valleys, so that a Carriage might drive through that whole length without difficulty. Another very long and large, paved all with cut or squared Stone, fenced with low Walls on each side, and set with Trees, whose Branches gave Shade, and the Fruits Food, to all that passed.

I shall end this Survey of their Government, with one Remark upon their Religion, which is, that tho' the Vulgar Worshiped only the *Sun*, yet the *Amanta's*, who were their Sages or Philosophers, taught, that the *Sun* was only the great Minister of *Pachacamac*, whom they adored in the first place, and to whom a Great and Sumptuous Temple was dedicated. This Word is Interpreted by the Spaniard, *Animador del Mundo*: Or, *He that animates or enlivens the World*, and seems to be yet a more

more Refined Notion of the Deity, than that of the *Chineses*, who adored the Spirit and Soul of the World: By this Principle of their Religion, as all the others of their Government and Policy, it must I think, be allowed, that Human Nature is the same in these remote, as well as the other more known and celebrated parts of the World. That the different Governments of it are framed and cultivated by as great reaches and strength of Reason and of Wisdom, as any of ours, and some of their frames less subject to be shaken by the Passions, Factions, and other Corruptions, to which those in the middle Scene of *Europe* and *Asa* have been so often and so much exposed. That the same Causes produce every where the same Effects, and that the same Honours and Obedience, are in all places but Consequences or Tributes paid to the same Heroick Vertue, or Transcendent Genius, in what parts soever, or under what Climates of the World it fortunes to appear.

S E C T. IV.

THE Third Survey I propos'd to make in this Essay upon Heroick Virtue, was that of the Northern Region, which lies without the Bounds of the *Euxin* and the *Caspian* Seas, the River *Oxus* to the East, and the *Danube* to the West, which by the *Greeks* and *Romans* was call'd all by one general name of *Scythia*, and little known to any Princes or Subjects of the four great Monarchies, otherwise than by the defeats or disgraces received in their Expeditions against these fierce Inhabitants of those barren Countries. Such was the fatal overthrow of *Cyrus* and his Army, by the Eastern *Scythians*, and the shameful flight of *Darius* from the Western.

This vast Region which extends from the North East Ocean, that bounds *Cataya* and *China* to the North West, that washes the Coasts of *Normay*, *Jutland*, and some Northern parts of *Germany*, tho' compris'd by the Antients under the

the common name of *Scythia* was distinguished into the *Asiatick* and the *European*, which were divided by the River *Tanaïs*, and the Mountains out of which it rises. Those numerous Nations may be called the *Eastern Scythians*, who lie on that side of the *Tanaïs*, or at least the *Volga*, and those the *Western* that lie on this. Among the first, the *Massagete* were the most known or talkt of by the Antient Writers : and among the last, the *Getae* and the *Sarmatae*. The first is now comprehended under the general name of great *Tartary*, and the second under those of the lesser *Tartary*, *Muscovy*, *Poland*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark* ; the two last styling themselves Kings of the *Goths* and *Vandals*.

How far this vast Territory is inhabited Northward by any Race of Mankind, I think none pretend to know, nor from how remote Corners of those Frozen Mountains, some of those fierce Nations first crept out, whose Force and Arms have been so known and felt by all the rest of what was of old called the Habitable World.

Whether it be that the course of Conquest has run generally from the North to the South, as from the harder upon the

the softer, or from the poorer upon the richer Nations, because Men commonly Attack with greater fierceness and courage than they Defend, being in one spirited by desire, and in the other usually damped by Fear; I cannot tell, but certain it is, how celebrated soever the four great Monarchies have been, by the Writings of so many famous Authors, who have Eternized their Fame, and thereby their own; yet there is no part of the World that was ever subject to *Assyrian, Persian, Greek, or Roman* Empires (except perhaps some little Islands) that has not been Ravaged and Conquered by some of those Northern Nations, whom they reckoned and despised as Barbarous: Nor where new Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities, or Governments, have not been by them erected upon the Ruins of the Old; which may justly Mortify the Pride of Mankind, the Depths of their Reasonings, the Reach of their Politicks, the Wisdom of their Laws, and Force of their Discipline, and may be allowed for a great and undisputed Triumph of Nature over Art.

It is agreed in Story, that the *Syrians* conquered the *Assyrians*, during the period

period of that Race in the *Assyrian* Empire, and were Masters of *Asia* for fifteen Years, till they returned home upon Domestick occasions. That *Cyrus* was beaten and slain by their Fury and Revenge, under the leading of a *VVoman*, whose *VVit* and Conduct made a great Figure in ancient Story; that the *Romans* were defeated by the *Parthians*, who were of the *Scythian* Race.

But the great Hero of the Eastern *Scythians* or *Tartars*, I esteem to have been *Tamurlane*; and whether he was Son of a Shepherd or a King, to have been the greatest Conqueror that was ever in the World, at least that appears upon any present Records of Story. His Atchievements were great upon *China*, where he subdued many Provinces, and forced their King to such Conditions of a Peace, as he was content to impose. He made *VVar* against the *Muscovites* with the same success, and partly by force, partly by consent, gained a passage thro' their Territories for that vast Army, which he led against *Bajazet* (then the Terror of the *VVorld*). He conquered this proud Turk and his whole Empire, as far as the *Hellepont* which

which he crossed, and made a Visit to the poor Greek Emperour at *Constantinople*, who had sent to make Alliance with him upon his first Invasion of *Bajazet*, at whose Mercy this Prince then almost lay, with the small remainders of the *Grecian Empire*. Nothing was greater or more Heroical in this Victorious *Tamerlane*, than the Faith and Honour wherewith he observed this Alliance with the Greeks; for having been received at *Constantinople* with all the Submissions that could be made him, having viewed and admired the greatness and structure of that Noble City, and said, it was fit to make the Seat for the Empire of the World, and having the offer of it freely made him by the *Greeks* to possess it for his own, yet after many Honours exchanged between these two Princes, he left this City in the freedom, and the *Greek* Emperor in the Possessions he found them, went back into *Asia*, and in his return Conquered *Syria*, *Persia*, and *India*, where the great *Moguls* have ever since boasted to be the Race of *Tamerlane*. After all these Conquests he went home, and passed the rest of his Age in his own Native Kingdom, and Dyed a fair and
natural

natural Death, which was a strain of Felicity as well as Greatness, beyond any of the Conquerors of the Four Renowned Monarchies of the World. He was without question, a Great and Heroick Genius, of great Justice, exact Discipline, generous Bounty, and much Piety, adoring one God, tho' he was neither Christian, Jew, nor Mahometan, and deserved a Nobler Character than could be allowed by Modern Writers to any person of a Nation so unlike themselves.

The *Turks* were another Race of these Eastern *Scythians*, their Original Countries being placed by some upon the North-East, by others upon the North-West Coast of the *Caspian* Sea, and perhaps both may have contributed to furnish such numbers as have over-run so great a part of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*. But I shall have occasion to say more of them and their Conquests in the next Section.

That part of *Scythia* that lies between the two Rivers of the *Volga* and *Boristhenes*, whereof the one runs into the *Caspian*, and t'other into the *Euxine* Sea, was the Seat of the *Getae*, whom *Herodotus* mentions, as then known by the

the name of *Getae Immortales*, because they believed that when they Dyed, they should go to *Zamolxis*, and enjoy a new Life in another World, at least such of them as lived according to his Orders and Institutions, who had been a great Prince or Law-giver among them. From this name of *Getae* came that of *Gothæ*; and this part of *Scythia*, in its whole Northern Extent, I take to have been the vast Hive out of which issued so many mighty Swarms of Barbarous Nations, who under the several names of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Alans*, *Lombards*, *Huns*, *Bulgans*, *Franks*, *Saxons*, and many others, broke in at several times and places upon the several Provinces of the *Roman Empire*, like so many Tempests, tore in pieces the whole Fabrick of that Government, framed many new ones in its room; changed the Inhabitants, Language, Customs, Laws, the usual names of Places and of Men, and even the very Face of Nature where they came, and planted new Nations and Dominions in their room. Thus *Italy*, after many Spoils and Invasions of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, came to be possessed by the *Lombards*, *Pannonia* by the *Huns*, *Thracia* by the *Bulgars*, the

the Southern parts of *Spain* or *Andaluzia* by the *Vandals*, the East or *Catalonia*, by the *Catti* and *Alani*; the rest of that Continent by the *Goths*. *Gaul* was subdued by the *Franks*, and *Britain* by the *Saxons*; both which Nations are thought to have come anciently from the more Northern Regions, and seated themselves in those parts of *Germany* that were afterwards called by their Names, from whence they proceeded in time to make their later Conquests. The *Scutes* who Conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and possessed them under the names of *Albin Scutes*, and *Irin Scutes*, I guess to have come from *Norway*, and to have retained more of the ancient *Soyebians* (before the *Goths* came into those parts) both in their Language and Habit, as that of Mantles, and in the custom of removing from one part to another, according to the Seasons or Conveniences of Pasture. The *Normans* that came into *France*, I take likewise to be a later Race from *Norway*, but after the *Gothick* Orders and Institutions have gained more Footing in that Province.

The Writers of those times content themselves to lay the Disgraces and Ruins of their Countries, upon the numbers

numbers and fierceness of these Savage Nations that invaded them, or upon their own disunions and disorders, that made way for so easy Conquests: But I cannot believe, that the strange Successes and Victorious Progresses of these Northern Conquerors, should have been the effect only of Tumultuary Arms and Numbers, or that Governments erected by them, and which have lasted so long in *Europe*, should have been framed by unreasonable or unthinking Men. 'Tis more likely, that there was among them some force of Order, some reach of Conduct, as well as some Principle of Courage above the common Strain; that so strange Adventures could not be atchieved, but by some Enchanted Knights.

That which first gave me this thought, was the Reflection upon those Verses in *Lucan*.

—— *Populus quos despicit Actos*
Fœlices errare sup, quos ille timorum
Maximus haud urget lethi metus, inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animiq; capaces
Mortis, & ignævum reditura parcere vite.

Happy

*Happy in their Mistake those People whom
The Northern Pole Aspects, whom fear of Death,
(The greatest of all human fears) ne'er moves;
From hence their Courage prone to rush on Steel,
Their Minds despising Death, they think it mean
To spare a Life that must again return.*

By this Passage it appears, that Sixteen Hundred Years ago those Northern People were distinguish'd from all others, by a fearlessness of Death, grounded upon the belief of another Life, which made them despise the care of preserving this.

Whether such an Opinion were first infused among them by *Zamolxis*, and propagated by *Odin* among his Followers, or by him Invented, I will not Conjecture; it may have been either one or t'other, since the *Goths* he led into the Northwest parts of *Europe* are agreed to have come from the *Getae*, who are placed near the River *Tanais*. For those vast *Scythian* Regions were divided into infinite several Nations, separated by the common natural Bounds

Bounds of Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Woods or Marshes. Each of these Countries, was like a mighty Hive, which by the vigour of Propagation, and health of Climate, growing too full of People, threw out some new swarm at certain periods of time, that took Wing, and sought out some new abode, expelling or subduing the old Inhabitants, and seating themselves in their rooms, if they liked the conditions of place and commodities of Life they met with; if not, going on till they found some other more agreeable to their present Humours or Dispositions. Sometimes the Expelled Nations took Heart, and when they fled from one Country, Invaded another, and revenged the Injuries of some cruel Neighbours, upon others that were weaker, but more innocent; and so like Waves, thrust on one the other, for mighty length of Space or Countries. Sometimes the Conquerors augmented their Numbers and Forces with the strongest and most adventurous of those Nations they first Invaded, by their voluntary accession into the shares or hopes of their future Fortunes, and so went on to further Conquests.

The

The usual manner of these Expeditions, was, That when a Country grew too full of People for the growth of it to supply, they assembled together all that were fit to bear Arms, and divided themselves into two Bands, whereof one stayed at home to Inhabit and Defend their own, and t'other went to seek new Adventures, and possess some other they could gain by force of Arms, and this was done sometimes by lot, and sometimes by agreement between the two Divisions. That Band or Colony that went abroad, chose their Leader among those in most Repute and Esteem for Wisdom or for Courage, and these were their Commanders or Generals in War; and if they lived and succeeded, were the first Princes of those Countries they Conquer'd, and chose for the Seat of their new Colony or Kingdom.

It seems agreed by the curious Enquirers into the Antiquities of the Runnick Language and Learning, that *Odin* or *Woden* or *Goden* (according

Excerpta ex Edda.

Hic *Odinus* *Fatidicus* erat, ut & ejus *Conjux*, unde nomen suum in *Septentrione* præcunctis *Regibus* maxime celebratum iri prævidit. Hæc motus causâ ex *Turcia*. iter molitus erat, adjuncto sibi magno numero militum *Juvenum* & *Seniorum* utriusq; *sexis*. Quascunq; terras peragrarunt, divinis efferebantur encomiis, *Diis* quàm hominibus *similiores* ab universis

universis judicati, nec prius
substiterunt quam terram in-
gressi essent quæ nunc Saxonia
appellatur, ubi per multos an-
nos Odinus vixit, istamq; Re-
gionem late possedit, quum
cum distribuisset inter Filios,
ita ut Vagdeggo Orientalem
Saxoniam, Begdego Westpha-
liam, Siggo Franconiam de-
terminavit; Ipse in aliam mi-
gravit regionem, quæ runc
Reidgorolandia dicebatur, &
quicquid ibi placuit sibi vindi-
cavit. Huic terræ præfecit fi-
lium Skioldam ex quo Freidle-
sus genitus est cujus poster-
i Skioldungar sive Skioldiades
nominantur à qua stirpe Da-
niæ Regis descenderunt, ista
Reidgorolandia, nunc Jutlan-
dia appellatur.

Ex Snorroni.

Odinus Heros in Asgardia
prope Tanaim, Sacrorum
Georgilium Summus antistes, du-
odecim Senatores qui cæteris
pietate & sapientia præstarent
Religioni curandæ & Juri di-
cundo præfecit. Hic magna-
nimus & foris bellator innu-
mera regna dirionesq; suam
redegit in potestatem. Ma-
nus ducum suorum vertici im-
ponens eos consecrabat, qui
in pugnam euntes nomen Odi-
ni nuncubabant Othinus fra-
tribus suis Regnum Asgardie
commisit, ipse in Russiam pro-
fectus & inde in Saxoniam,
eam sibi subjugavit, & filiis in-
regendum commisit. Inaudi-

cording to the
different Nor-
thern Dialects)
was the first and
great Hero of
the Western *Scy-
thians*. That he
led a mighty
Swarm of the
Getes under the
name of *Goths*,
from the *Asiatick*
Scythia, into the
farthest North-
west parts of
Europe: That he
seated and spread
his Kingdom
round the whole
Baltick Sea, and
over all the
Islands in it, and
extended it west-
ward to the O-
cean, and South-
ward to the
Elve, (which
was Anciently
Esteemed the
Bound between
the

the *Scythians* and the *Germans*). That this vast Country was in the Ancient *Gothick* term, called *Biarmia*, and is by some Authors Termed, *Officina Gentium*, having furnished all those swarms of *Goths*, *Vandals*, *Saxons*, *Angles*, *Jutes*, *Danes*, and *Normans*, which so often infested, and at length subdued all the Western Provinces of *Europe*. Some Write,

that he extended his Conquests even as far as *Franconia* it self; but all agree, that this *Odin* was the first Inventor of, at least the first Engraver of the *Runic* Letters or Characters, sometimes so Famous, and at last so Infamous in the World, by the vulgar Opinion and imputation of all sorts of Charms,

Q

Enchant-

generis miracula variis exercuit præstigiis. Magisterium publicum Magiæ præcipiendæ instituit: In varias formarum specie se transmutare noverat, tantâ eloqui dulcedine audientes dumulcere poterat dictis ejus nullam non fidem adhiberent. Carminibus inter, loquendum crebrò prolatâ miram sermoni gratiam conciliabat: Tantâ ludificandorum oculorum peritiâ callebat, ut sæpe corpus suum velut spiritû suppresso humi prosterneret, Evigilans se longinquas, oras peragrasse, & quid ibi rerum gereretur cõperisse allevabat. Ad summum Runis suis & incantationibus incredibiliâ patrando tam clarum sibi nomen peperit ut sapientiæ & potentiæ suæ & Assanprum per omnes brevi nationes sit debitum, quò evenit ut Sueci aliq; populi Boreales. Odino Sacrificia dependerent. Post obitum multis apparuit, multis Victoriâ contulit, alios in Walhalde, id est, aulam Platonis invitavit.

Enchantments or Witchcrafts, to the use and force of those strange Characters. That he instituted many excellent Orders and Laws, made the distinction of Seasons, the divisions of time, was an Invincible Warrior, a wise Law-giver, loved and obeyed during Life by his Subjects, and after his Death adored as one of their three chief Gods, amongst which he was the God of War, *Thor* of Thunder and Tempests, *Frea* of Pleasure ; by whose Names, for an Eternal Memory, three days of the Week are called.

I will not enter into his Story, nor that of his Succession, or the Infinite and Famous Revolutions it produced in the World, nor into the more curious search of the time of his Expedition, which must have been very ancient, and is thereby left doubted and undetermined : But if it be true, that he was Inventor of the Runick Characters, some Writers of that Language will make him older than *Evander*, by affirming their Runick Letters to have been more ancient than the Latin, which were first brought into *Italy* in his time. For my own part, I should guess, by all I have perused of those Antiquities, that this
Expe-

Expedition may have been made two Thousand Years ago, or thereabouts. So much is true, that the *Runes* were for long period of times in use, upon Materials more lasting than any others employed to that purpose ; for instead of Leaves or Barks, or Wax or Parchments, these were engraven upon Stone or Planks of Oaks, upon artificial Obelisks or Pillars, and even upon natural Rocks, in great numbers and extent of Lines. But more of this Runick Subject will occur upon that of Poetry ; and I shall only observe, among the Constitutions of these Northern People, three Principles of a strain very extraordinary, and perhaps peculiar to themselves, and which extend very far into the Fortunes and Conquests of their Arms and into the force and duration of their Kingdoms. The first of these is a Principle of Religion or Superstition, the next of Learning, and the last of Policy or Civil Government.

Whether the first were deduced from that of *Zamolxis*, among the *Getes*, stiled of Old Immortals, or introduced by *Odin* among the Western *Goths*, 'tis certain, that an Opinion was fixed and general among them, That Death was but the

the entrance into another Life ; that all Men who lived lazy and unactive Lives and died natural Deaths, by Sicknefs or by Age, went into vast Caves underground, all dark and miry, full of noysom Creatures usual in such places, and there for ever grovelled in endless stench and Misery. On the contrary, all who gave themselves to warlike Actions and Enterprises, to the Conquest of their Neighbours and Slaughter of Enemies, and died in Battle, or of violent Deaths upon bold Adventures or Resolutions, they went immediatly to the vast Hall or Palace of *Odin*, their God of War, who eternally kept open House for all such Guests, where they were entertained at infinite Tables, in perpetual Feasts and Mirth, carousing every Man in Bowls made of the Sculls of their Enemies they had slain, according to which numbers every one in these Mansions of Pleasure was the most honoured and the best entertained.

How this Opinion was printed in the Minds of these fierce Mortals, and what effect it had upon their Thoughts and Passions, concerning Life and Death, as it is touched Elegantly in those Verses of *Lucan* before Recited, so it is lively
 Repre-

Represented in the Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Ninth *Stanza* of that Song or Epicedium of *Regnor Ladbrog*, one of their famous Kings, which he composed in the Runick Language, about Eight Hundred Years ago, after he was mortally stung by a Serpent, and before the Venom seiz'd upon his Vitals. The whole Sonnet is recited by *Olaus Wormius* in his *Literatura Runica* (who has very much deserved from the Commonwealth of Learning) and is very well worth reading, by any that love Poetry; and to consider the several stamps of that Coin, according to several Ages and Climates. But that which is extraordinary in it is, that such an alacrity or pleasure in dying, was never expressed in any other Writing, nor imagined among any other People. The Two Stanzaes are thus Translated into Latin by *Olaus*.

Stanza XXV.

*Pugnāvimus ensibus,
Hoc ridere me facit semper
Quod Balderi Patris Scamna
Parata scio in aula,
Bibemus cerevisiam
Ex concavis crateribus craniorum,
Non gemit vir fortis contra mortem*

Q 3

Magnifici

*Magnifici in Odini domibus,
Non venio desperabundus
Verbis ad Othinum aulam.*

Stanza XXIX.

*Fert animus finire,
Invitant me Dysis
Quas ex Odini aula
Othinus mihi misit
Latus cerevisiam cum Asis
In summa sede bibam
Vitæ elapsæ sunt horæ,
Ridens Moriar.*

I am deceived, if in this Sonnet, and a following Ode of *Scallogrim*, (which was likewise made by him after he was condemned to dye, and deserved his pardon for a Reward) there be not a vein truly Poetical, and in its kind Pindarick, taking it with the allowance of the different Climates, Fashions, Opinions, and Languages of such distant Countries.

I will not trouble my self with more passages out of this Runick Poems, concerning this superstitious Principle, which is so perfectly represented in these with the possession it had taken of the Noblest Souls among them ; for such this *Lodbrog* appears to have been, by
his

his perpetual Wars and Victories in those Northern Continents, and in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. But I will add a Testimony of it, which was given me at *Nimeguen*, by Count *Oxenstern* the first of the Suedish Ambassadors in that Assembly. In Discourse upon this Subject, and confirmation of this Opinion having been General among the *Goths* of those Countries; he told me, there was still in *Sueden* a place which was a Memorial of it, and was called *Odins-Hall*. That it was a great Bay in the Sea, encompassed on three sides with steep and ragged Rocks; and that in the time of the Gothick Paganism, Men that were either sick of Diseases they esteemed Mortal or Incurable, or else grown invalid with Age, and thereby past all Military Action, and fearing to die meanly and basely (as they esteemed it) in their Beds, they usually caused themselves to be brought to the nearest part of these Rocks, and from thence threw themselves down into the Sea, hoping by the boldness of such a violent Death, to renew the pretence of Admission in the Hall of *Odin*, which they had lost, by failing to die in Combat and by Arms.

Q 4

What

What effect such a Principle (suck'd in with Instruction and Education, and well believed) must have upon the Passions and Actions of a People naturally strong and brave, is easy to conceive, and how far it went beyond all the strains of the boldest and firmest Philosophy; for this reached no farther than Constancy in Death, or Indifferency in the Opinion of that or of Life; but the other infused a scorn of Life, and a desire of Death; nay, fear and aversion even for a natural Death, with pursuit and longing for a violent one (contrary to the general Opinions of all other Nations) so as they took delight in War and Dangers, as others did in Hunting, or such active sports, and fought as much for the hopes of Death as of Victory, and found as much pleasure in the supposed Advantages and Consequences of one, as in the real enjoyments of the other. This made them perpetually in new motions or designs, fearless and fierce in the execution of them, and never caring in Battle to preserve their Lives, longer than to increase the Slaughter of their Enemies, and thereby their own Renown here, and Felicity hereafter,

Their

Their decisions of Right and Just were
 by Arms, and mortal Combats allowed
 by Laws, approved by Princes, assisted
 by formal Judges, and determined by
 Death or Victory. From hence came
 all those Jousts, and Tiltings and Tur-
 naments, so long in use, and so much ce-
 lebrated in these parts of the World;
 their Marriage-Feasts were solemnized
 by Launces and Swords, by Blows, by
 Wounds, and sometimes by Death, till
 that Custom was disgraced by the de-
 plorable End of *Henry* the Second of
France, and the fatal Launce of *Mont-*
gamery. From hence came the long use
 of legal and of single Combats, when
 the right of Titles or Lands was diffi-
 cult; or when a Person accused of any
 Crime denied absolutely what his Ac-
 cuser positively affirmed, and no other
 proof could on either side be produced.
 'Tis known in Story how long and how
 frequent this was in use among all the
 Gothick Races, and in the several King-
 doms or Principalities erected by them,
 even after the Profession of Christianity
 among 'em. When it grew too infamous
 upon the Entrance of Learning and Ci-
 vility, and the Laws were ashamed of
 allowing Tryals of Blood and Violence,
 yet

yet the custom could not be extinguish'd, but made way for that of private Duels, and for the Lye, being accounted a just ground of Fighting in point of Honour, because it had been so in point of Law during the Barbarous Ages. This seems to have begun upon the famous Challenge that passed between *Charles* the V. and *Francis* the I. which tho' without effect, yet 'tis enough known and lamented how much of the bravest Blood of Christendom has been spilt by that example, especially in *France*, during the several succeeding Reigns, till it seems to have been extinguish'd by the just Severity, and to the just Honour of the present King.

But to return to the bold Authors of these Customs (unknown to the *Greek* and *Roman* Nations.) Their Bodies indeed were hard and strong, their Minds rough and fierce, their numbers infinite, which was owing perhaps all to their Climate. But besides these advantages, their Courage was undaunted, their Business was War, their Pleasures were Dangers, their very Sports were Martial: Their Disputes and Processes were decided by Arms; they feared nothing but too long Life, decays of Age, and

and a natural or slothful Death; any Violent or Bloody they desired and pursued, and all this from their Opinion of one being succeeded by Miseries, the other by Felicities of a future and a longer Life.

For my part, when I consider the force of this Principle, I wonder not at the effects of it, their numerous Conquests, nor immensity of Countries they subdued, nor that such strange Adventures should have been finished by such Enchanted Men. But when Christianity introduced among them, gave an end to these Delusions, the restless humour of perpetual Wars and Action was likewise allayed, and they turned their thoughts to the Establishment of their several Kingdoms, in the Provinces they had subdued and chosen for their Seats, and applied themselves to the Orders and Constitutions of their Civil or Political Governments.

Their Principle of Learning was, That all they had among them was applied to the knowledge and distinction of Seasons, by the course of the Stars, and to the prognosticks of Weather, or else to the praises of Virtue, which consisted among them only, in Justice to
their

their own Nation, and Valour against
 their Enemies; and the rest was em-
 ployed in displaying the brave and he-
 roick Exploits of their Princes and Lea-
 ders, and the Prowess and Conquests of
 their Nation: All their Writings were
 composed in Verse, which were called
Runes or *Wises*, and from thence the
 term of *Wise* came: And these Poets
 or Writers being esteemed the Sages
 among them, were as such, always em-
 ployed in the attendance upon their
 Princes, both in Courts and Camps, be-
 ing used to advise in their Conduct, and
 to record their Actions, and celebrate
 their Praises and Triumphs. The traces
 of these customs have been seen within
 the compass of this very age, both in
Hungary and *Ireland*, where, at their
 Feasts it was usual to have these kind
 of Poets entertain the Company with
 their rude Songs, or Panegyrics of their
 Ancestors bold Exploits, among which,
 the number of Men that any of them
 had slain with their own Hands, was the
 chief ingredient in their Praises. By
 these, they rewarded the Prowess of the
 Old Men among them, and inflamed the
 Courage of the Young, to equal the
 boldness and achievements of those that
 had

had travelled before them in these paths of Glory.

The Principle of Politick or Civil Government in these Northern Nations, seems derived from that which was Military among them. When a new Swarm was upon the Wing, they chose a Leader or General for the Expedition, and at the same time the chief Officers to Command the several Divisions of their Troops; these were a Council of War to the General, with whom they advised, in the whole progress of their Enterprize, but upon great occasions, as a Pitch'd Battle, any Military Exploit of great difficulty and danger, the choice of a Country to fix their Seat, or the Conditions of Peace that were proposed, they assembled their whole Troops, and consulted with all the Soldiers or People they Commanded. This *Tacitus* observes to have been in use among the *German* Princes in his time, to consult of smaller Affairs with the chief Officers, but *De Majoribus omnes*.

If a Leader of these Colonies succeeded in his Attempts, and Conquer'd a new Country, where by common consent they thought fit to reside, he grew a Prince of that Country, while he lived,

lived, and when he dyed, another was chosen to succeed him by a general Election. The Lands of the Subdued Territory were divided into greater and smaller Shares, besides that reserved to the Prince and Government. The great were given to the chief Officers of the Army, who had best deserved, and were most esteemed; the smaller to the common or private Soldiers. The Natives Conquered, where wholly dispoiled of their Lands, and reckoned but as Slaves by the Conquerors, and so used for labour and servile Offices, and those of the Conquering Nation were the Freemen. The great Sharers, as chief Officers, continued to be the Council of the Prince in matters of State, as they had been before in matters of War; but in the great Affair, and of common concernment, all that had the smaller Shares in Land, were assembled and advised with. The first great Shares were in process of time called Baronies, and the Small, Fees.

I know very well how much Critick has been employed, by the most Learned, as *Erasmus*, *Selden*, *Spelman*, as well as many others, about the two words *Baro* and *Feudum*, and how much pains have

have been taken, to deduce them from the Latin, Greek, and even the Hebrew and Ægyptian Tongues ; but I find no reason, after all they have said, to make any doubt of their having been both Original of the Gothick or Northern Language ; or of *Baron* having been a Term of Dignity, of Command, or of Honour among them ; and *Fendum*, of a Soldier's share of Land. I find the first used above Eight Hundred Years ago, in the Verses mentioned of King *Lodbrog*, when one of his Exploits was, to have Conquered Eight Barons. And tho' *Fees* or *Fenda* were in use under later Roman Emperors, yet they were derived from the Gothick Customs, after so great numbers of those Nations were introduced into the Roman Armies, and employed upon the Decline of that Empire against other more Barbarous Invasions. For of all the Northern Nations, the *Goths* were esteemed the most Civil, Orderly, and Virtuous, and are for such commended by St. *Austin* and *Salvian*, who makes their Conquests to have been given them by the Justice of God, as a Reward of their Virtue, and a Punishment upon the Roman Provinces for the Viciousness and Corruptions of their
Lives

Lives and Governments. So as it is no Wonder if many *Gothick* Words and Customs enter'd early into the *Roman* Empire.

As to the word *Baro*, it is not that I find, at all agreed among the Learned, from whence to derive it, and the Objections rais'd against their several Conjectures, seem better ground'd than the Arguments for any of them. But what that Term imported, is out of their several accounts easy to Collect, and confirm'd by what still remains in all the Constitutions of the *Gothick* Governments. For tho' by Barons are now meant in *England*, such as are created by Patent, and thereby called to the House of Lords: And Baron in *Spanish* signify only a Man of Note or Worth; and the Quality denoted by that Title be different in the several Countries of Christendom; yet there is no question, but they were originally such Persons as upon the Conquest of a Country, were by the Conquering Prince invest'd in the possession of certain Tracts or Proportions of Free Lands, or at least such as they held by no other Tenure, but that of Military Service, or Attendance upon the Prince in his Wars, with a certain

tain number of Armed Men. These in *Germany*, *France*, *Scotland*, seem to have had, and some still to retain, a Sovereign Power in their Territories, by the Exercise of what is called high and low Justice or the Power of judging Criminal as well as Civil Causes, and inflicting Capital Punishments among those that held under them, either as Vassals or in Fee. But I have not met with any thing of this kind recorded in *England*, tho' the great Barons had not only great numbers of Knights, but even petty Barons holding under them.

I think the whole Realm of *England* was by *William* the Conqueror divided into Baronies, however the Distinctions may have been long since worn out : But in *Ireland* they still remain, and every County there is divided into so many Baronies, which seem to have been the Shares of the first Barons. And such as these great Proprietors of Land, composed in all these North-West Regions, one Part in the States of the Country or Kingdom.

Now for the Word *Barons*, tho' it be a Presumption to assert any thing after the Doubts or unresolved Disputes of such learned Men : Yet I shall adventure

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to give my own Opinion, how different soever from any that has been yet advanced. I find in *Guagnini's* Description of *Sarmatia*, Printed in the Year 1581. That in the several Dukedoms, Palatinates, or Principalities, which then composed the mighty Empire of *Moscow*: Those Persons who were the chief in Possessions of Lands, Offices, or Dignities among them next to the Prince, Duke, or Palatine, were by one common Appellation called, his *Boiarons*, as those of the same sort or quality in the present Court of the Great Dukes, are now termed his Boiars, which may be a corrupt or particular Dialect from the other. Now I think it is obvious to any Man, that tries how easy a change is made in the Contraction of Boiarons into Barons, which is but of the two first Syllables into one, and that with an A long, as Barons is commonly used; And those Countries above mentioned, having been the Seats of our conquering *Goths*, I am apt to think their Boiarons grew with their Conquests, to be the Original Barons in all those several Nations or Dominions where they were extended.

From

From the Divisions, Forms and Institutions already deduced, will naturally arise and plainly appear the Frame and Constitution of the Gothick Government, which was peculiar to them, and different from all before, known or observed in Story, but so universal among these Northern Nations, that it was under the Names of King, or Prince, or Duke and his Estates, establish'd in all Part of *Europe* from the North-East of *Poland* and *Hungary* to the South-West of *Spain* and *Portugal*, tho' these vast Countries had been subdued by so many several Expeditions of these Northern People, at such diverstimes, and under so different Apellations, and it seems to have been invented or instituted by the Sages of the *Goths*, as a Government of Freemen, which was the Spirit or Character of the North-West Nations, distinguishing them from those of the South and the East, and gave the Name to the *Franks* among them.

I need say nothing of this Constitution, which is so well known in our Island, and was antiently the same with ours in *France* and *Spain*, as well as *Germany* and *Sueden*, where it still continues, consisting of a King or a Prince

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who is Sovereign both in Peace and War, of an Assembly of Barons (as they were originally called) whom he uses as his Council, and another of the Commons, who are the Representative of all that are possessed of Free-Lands, whom the Prince assembles and consults with, upon the Occasions or Affairs of the greatest and common concern to the Nation. I am apt to think that the Possession of Land, was the Original Right of Election or Representative among the Commons, and that Cities and Boroughs were entitled to it, as they were possess'd of certain Tracts of Land, that belonged or were annexed to them. And so it is still in *Friezland*, the Seat from whence our Gothick or Saxon Ancestors came into these Islands. For the ancient Seat of the Gothick Kingdom, was of small or no Trade; nor *England* in their time. Their Humours and Lives were turned wholly to Arms, and long after the *Norman* Conquest, all the Trade of *England* was driven by *Jews*, *Lombards* or *Milaners*; so as the right of Boroughs seems not to have risen from regards of Trade, but of Land, and were Places where so many Freemen inhabited together, and had such a Proportion of Land belonging to them.

them. However it be, this Constitution has been celebrated, as framed with great Wisdom and Equity, and as the truest and justest Temper that has been ever found out between Dominion and Liberty; and it seems to be a Strain of what *Heraclitus* said was the only Skill or Knowledge of any value in the Politicks, which was the Secret of Governing All by All.

This seems to have been intended by these Gothick Constitutions, and by the Election and Representation of all that possessed Lands; for since a Country is composed of the Land it contains, they esteemed a Nation to be so, of such as were the Possessors of it. And what Prince soever can hit of this great Secret, needs know no more, for his own Safety and Happiness, or that of the People he governs. For no State or Government can ever be much troubled or endangered by any private Factions, which is grounded upon the general Consent and Satisfaction of the Subjects, unless it be wholly subdued by the force of Armies; and then the standing Armies have the Place of Subjects, and the Government depends upon the contented or discontented Humours of the Soldiers in General, which has more

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sudden

sudden and fatal consequences upon the
 Revolutions of State, than those of Sub-
 jects in unarmed Governments. So the
 Roman, Ægyptian, and Turkish Em-
 pires, appear to have always turned
 upon the Arbitrary Wills, and wild Hu-
 mours of the Prætorian Bands, the Ma-
 malukes, and the Janizaries. And so I
 pass from the Scythian Conquests and
 Gothick Constitutions to those of the
Arabians or *Mahometans* in the World.

S E C T.

S E C T. V.

TH E last Survey I proposed, of the Four outlying (or if the Learned so please to call them barbarous) Empires, was that of the *Arabians*, which was indeed of a very different Nature from all the rest, being Built upon Foundations wholly Enthusiastick, and thereby very unaccountable to common Reason, and in many Points contrary even to Human Nature; yet few others have made greater Conquests or more sudden Growths, than this *Arabian* or *Saracen* Empire; but having been of later Date, and the Course of it engaged in perpetual Wars with the Christian Princes, either of the East or West, of the Greek or the Latin Churches, both the Original and Progress of it have been easily observed, and are most vulgarly known, having been the Subject of many modern Writers and several well digested Histories or Relations; and therefore I

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shall

shall give but a very summary Account of both.

About the Year 600, or near it, lived *Mahomet*, a Man of mean Parentage and Conditon, illiterate, but of great Spirit and subtil Wit, like those of the Climat or Country where he was born or bred, which was that Part of *Arabia* called the Happy, esteemed the loveliest and sweetest Region of the World, and like those blessed Seats so finely painted by the Poet,

*Quas neq; concutiunt venti, neq; nubila
nimbis*

*Aspergunt, neq; nix acri concreta pruinâ
Cana cadens violat semperq; innubilus æther
Contigit, & latè diffuso lumine ridet.*

He was Servant to a rich Merchant of this Country, and after his Master's Death, having married his Widow, came to be possessed of great Wealth, and of a numerous Family: Among others, he had entertained in it a Surgian Monk, or at least called by that Name, whose vicious and libertine Dispositions of Life, had made him leave his Inclosure and Profession, but otherwise a Man of great Learning. *Mahomet* was
subject

subject to Fits of an Epilepsie or Falling-Sickness, and either by the Customs of that Climat, or the necessity of that Disease, very temperate and abstaining from Wine, but in the rest voluptuous and dissolute. He was ashamed of his Disease, and to disguise it from his Wife and Family, pretending his Fits were Trances into which he was cast at certain times by God Almighty, and in them instructed in his Will, and his true Worship and Laws, by which he would be served; and that he was commanded to publish them to the World, to teach them and see them obey'd.

About this Age all the Christian Provinces of the East were over-run with *Arianism*, which however refined or disguised by its Learned Professors and Advocates, either denied or undermined the Divinity of *Christ*, and allowed only his Prophetical Office. The Countries of *Arabia* and *Ægypt*, were filled with great Numbers of the Scattered *Jews*, who upon the last Destruction of their Country in *Adrian's* Time, had fled into these Provinces to avoid the Ruin and even Extinction, which was threatned their Nation by that Emperor, who after all the Desolations he made

made in *Judea*, transported what he could of their remaining Numbers into *Spain*. The rest of *Arabia* and *Ægypt* was inhabited by Gentiles, who had little Sense left of their decayed and derided Idolatry, and had turned their Thoughts and Lives to Luxury and Pleasure, and to the Desires and Acquisition of Riches, in order to those Ends. *Mahomet*, to humour and comply with these three Sorts of Men, and by the Assistance of the Monk his only Confident, framed a Scheme of Religion he thought likely to take in, or at least not to shock the common Opinions and Dispositions of them all, and yet most agreeable to his own Temper and Designs.

He professed one God Creator of the World, and who govern'd all things in it. That God had in ancient times sent *Moses* his first and great Prophet, to give his Laws to Mankind but that they were neither received by the Gentiles, nor obeyed by the Jews themselves, to whom he was more peculiarly sent. That this was the Occasion of the Misfortunes and Captivities that so often beset them. That in the later Ages he had sent *Christ*, who was the second Prophet

Prophet, and greater than *Moses*, to preach his Laws and Observation of them, in greater Purity, but to do it with Gentleness, Patience and Humility, which had found no better reception or Success among Men than *Moses* had done, That for this reason God had now sent his last and greatest Prophet *Mahomet*, to publish his Laws and Commands with more Power, to subdue those to them by Force and Violence, who should not willingly receive them, and for this end to establish a Kingdom upon Earth that should propagate this Divine Law and Worship throughout the World: That as God had designed utter Ruin and Destruction to all that refused them, so to those that professed and obeyed them, He had given the Spoils and Possessions of His and their Enemies, as a Reward in this Life, and had provided a Paradise hereafter, with all sensual Enjoyments, especially of beautiful Women new created for that purpose; but with more transcendent Degrees of Pleasure and Felicity to those that should die in the pursuit and propagation of them, through the rest of the World, which should in time submit or be subdued under them. These, with
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the severe prohibition of drinking Wine, and the Principle of Predestination, were the first and chief Doctrines and Institutions of *Mahomet*, and which were recieved with great Applause, and much confluence of *Arians*, *Jews* and *Gentiles* in those parts; some contributing to the rise of his Ringdom, by the Belief of his Divine Mission and Authority; many by finding their chief Principles or Religious Opinions, contained or allowed in them; but most by their Voluptuousness and Luxury, their Passions of Avarice, Ambition and Revenge, being thereby complied with. After his Fits or Trances, he writ the many several parts or chapters of his *Alcoran*, as newly inspired and dictated from Heaven, and left in them, that which to us, and in its Translations, looks like a wild Fanatick Rhapsody of his Visions or Dreams, or rather of his Fantastical Imaginations and Inventions, but has ever passed among all his Followers, as a Book Sacred and Divine; which shews the strange difference of Conceptions among Men.

To be short, this Contagion was so violent, that it spread from *Arabia* into *Ægypt* and *Syria*, and his Power increased

creased with such a sudden Growth as well as his Doctrine, that he lived to see them overspread both those Countries, and a great part of *Persia*; the Decline of the Old Roman Empire, making easy way for the powerful Ascent of this new Comet, that appeared with such Wonder and Terror in the World, and with a flaming Sword made way where ever it came, or laid all desolate that opposed it.

Mahomet left two Branches of his Race for Succession, which was in both esteemed divine among his *Mussulman's* or Followers; the one was continued in the *Caliph's* of *Persia*, and the other of *Ægypt* and *Arabia*. Both these, under the common Apellation of *Saracens*, made mighty and wonderful Progress, the one to the East, and the other to the West.

The Roman Empire, or rather the Remains of it, seated at *Constantinople*, and afterwards called the Greek, was for some times past most cruelly infested, and in many parts shaken to pieces, by the Invasions or Incurfions of many barbarous Northern Nations, and thereby disabled from any vigorous Opposition.

Position to this new and formidable Enemy. Besides, the divisions among Christians made way for their conquests, and the great Increase of Profelytes to this new Religion. The *Arians* persecuted in the Eastern Provinces by some of the Greek Emperors (of the same Faith with the Western or Roman Church) made easy turns to the *Mahometan* Doctrines, that professed Christ to have been so great and so divine a Prophet, which was all in a manner that they themselves allowed him. The cruel Persecutions of other Grecian Princes against those Christians, that would not admit the use of Images, made great Numbers of them go over to the *Saracens*, who abhorred that Worship as much as themselves. The Jews were allured by the Profession of Unity in the Godhead, which they pretended not to find in the Christian Faith, and by the great Honour that was paid by the *Saracens* to *Moses*, as a Prophet and a Lawgiver sent immediately from God into the World. The Pagans met with an Opinion of the old Gentilism, in that of Predestination, which was the Stoick Principle, and that whereinto unhappy Men commonly fell, and sought for

for refuge in the uncertain Conditions or events of Life, under Tyrranical and Cruel Governments. So as some Roman Authors observe, that the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula* and *Nero*, made more Stoicks in *Rome*, than the Precepts of *Zeno*, *Chrysippus* and *Cleanthes*.

The great extent and power of the *Persian* Branch or Empire, continued long among the *Saracens*, but was overrun at length by the *Turks* first, and then by the *Tartars* under *Tamerlane*, whose Race continued there till the time of *Ishmael*, from whom the present *Sophies* are derived. This *Ishmael* was an Enthusiast, or at least a Pretender to new revelations in the *Mahometan* Religion. He professed to reform both their Doctrines and their Manners, and taught, That *Haly* alone of *Mahomet's* Followers, ought to be owned and believed as his true Successor, which made the *Persians* ever since esteem the *Turks* for Hereticks, as the *Turks* do them. He gained so many Followers by his new and refined Principles, or professions of Devotion, that he made himself King of *Persia*, by the same Way that the *Xeriffs* came to be Kings of *Morocco* and *Fez* about *Charles* the Fifth's time, and
Cromwell

Cromwel to be Protector of *England*, and *Oran Zeb* to be great Mogul in our Age, which were the four great Dominions of the Fanatick Strain.

The *Arabian* Branch of the *Saracen* Empire, after a long and mighty Growth in *Ægypt* and *Arabia*, seems to have been at its Height under the great *Almanzor*, who was the illustrious and Renowed Heroe of this Race, and must be allowed to have as much excelled, and as eminently, in Learning, Virtue, Piety, and Native Goodness, as in Power, in Valour. and in Empire. Yet this was extended from *Arabia* through *Ægypt* and all the Northern Tracts of *Africa*, as far as the Western Ocean, and and over all the considerable Provinces of *Spain*. For it was in his time, and by his Victorious Ensigns, that the Gothick Kingdom in *Spain* was conquered, and the Race of those famous Princes ended in *Rodrigo*. All that Country was reduced under the *Saracen* Empire, (except the Mountains of *Leon* and *Oviedo*) and were afterwads divided into several Moorish Kingdoms, whereof some lasted to the Reign of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*. Nay, the *Saracen* Forces, after the Conquest of *Spain*, invaded
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the Southern parts of *France*, and proceeded with the same success as far as *Tours*, till they were beaten and expelled by *Charles Martel*, who by those Exploits raised his Renown so high, as to give him the Ambition of leaving the Kingdom of *France* to his own Line, in *Pepin* and *Charlemain*, by the deposition and extinction of the first Race, which had lasted from *Pharamond*.

I do not remember ever to have read a greater and a nobler Character of any Prince, than of this great *Almanzor*, in some Spanish Authors or Translators of his Story out of the *Arabian* Tongue, wherein the Learning then remaining in the World flourish'd most; and that of ancient *Greece*, as it had been translated into their Language, so it seems to have been by the Accuteness and Excellency of those more Southern Wits, in some parts very much improved.

This Kingdom continued great under the Caliphs of *Ægypt*, who degenerating from the Example and Vertues of *Almanzor*, came to be hated of their Subjects, and to secure themselves from them, by a mighty Guard of *Circassian* Slaves. These were brought young
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from the Country now called *Mengrelia*, between the Euxin and Caspian Seas, the ancient Seat of the *Amazons*, and which has, in past and present times, been observed to produce the bravest Bodies of Men, and most beautiful of Women, in all the Eastern Regions. These Slaves were called Mamalucs when they came into *Ægypt*, and were brought up with care, and in all Exercises and Discipline, that might render them the most martial Troops or Bands of Soldiers, that could any where be composed, and so they proved. The Commander of this mighty Band or Guard of Mamalucs, was called their Sultan, who was absolute over them, as the General of an Army is in time of War. They served for some time to support the Government of the Caliphs, and enslave the *Ægyptians*, till one of the Sultans finding his own Power, and the general distesteem wherein the Caliph was fallen, by the effeminate Softness or Luxury of his Life, deposed him first, then slew him, and took upon himself the Government of *Ægypt*, under the name of *Sultan*, and reigned by the sole Force and Support of his Mamaluc Troops, which were continually increased

sed by the Merchandise, and Transportation of *Circassian* Slaves. This Government lasted, with great Terror in *Ægypt*, between two and three Hundred Years, during which time the new Sultans were elected, upon the Death or Deposing of the old, by the choice of the Mamalucs, and always out of their own Bands. The Sons of the Deceased Sultans enjoyed the Estates and Riches left by their Fathers, but by the Constitutions of the Government no Son of a Sultan was ever either to succeed, or even to be elected Sultan: So that in this, contrary to all others ever known in the World, to be born of a Prince, was a certain and unalterable Exclusion from the Kingdom; and none was ever to be chosen Sultan, that had not been actually sold for a Slave, brought from *Circassia* and trained up a private Soldier in the *Mamaluc* Bands. Yet of so base Metal were formed several Men, who made mighty Figures in their Age, and no Nation made so brave a Resistance against the growing Empire of the Turks, as these Mamalucs did under their Sultans, till they were conquered by *Selim*, after a long War, which looked in Story like the Combat

of some fierce Tyger with a Savage Boar, while the Country that is wasted by them are Lookers on, and little concerned, under whose Dominion and Cruelty they fall.

It is not well agreed among Authors, whether the Turks were first called into *Asia* by the Greek or the Persian Emperors, but 'tis by all, that failing down in great Numbers, they revolted from the Assistance of their Friends, set up for themselves, embraced the Mahometan Religion, and improved the Principles of that Sect; by new Orders and Inventions, (cast wholly for Conquest and Extent of Empire) they framed a Kingdom, which under the *Ottoman* Race subdued both the Greek Empire, and that of the *Arabians*; and rooted it self in all those vast Dominions as it continues to this day, with the Addition of many other Provinces to their Kingdom, but yet many more to the Mahometan Belief. So this Empire of the Turks, like a fresh Graft upon one Branch of a vigorous Stock, covered wholly that upon which it was grafted, and out-grew in time the other which was natural, as the Persian Branch.

The chief Principles upon which this
fierce

fierce Government was founded and raised to such a Height, where first those of *Mahomet*, already deduced, which by their sensual Paradise and Predestination, were great Incentives of Courage and of Enterprize, joyned to the Spoils of the Conquered, both in their Lands, their Goods and their Liberties, which were all seized at the pleasure of the Conqueror.

A Second was, a Belief infused of divine Designation of the Ottoman Line to reign among them for Extent of their Territories, and Propagation of their Faith. This made him esteemed, at least by Adoption, as a Successor of *Mahomet*, and both a Sovereign Law-giver in Civil (and with the Assistance of his Mufti) a Supream Judge in all Religious Matters. And this Principle was so far improved among these People, that they held Obedience to be given in all things to the Will of their Ottoman Prince as to the Will of God, by whom they thought him designed; and that they were bound not only to obey his Commands with any hazard of their Lives against Enemies; but even by laying down their own, when ever he commanded, and with the same resignation

nation that is by others thought due to the Decrees of Destiny, or the Will and Pleasure of Almighty God. This gives such an abandoned submission to all the frequent and cruel Executions among them by the Emperor's Command, tho' upon the meer turns of his own Humour, the Suggestions of the Ministers, or the Flatteries and Revenges of those Women he most trusteth, or loveth best.

A Third was, the Division of all Lands in conquered Countries, into Timariots, or Soldiers shares, besides what was reserved and appropriated to the Emperor; and these shares being only at pleasure or for Life, leave him the sole Lord of all Lands in his Dominion, which by the common supposition of Power following Land, must by consequence leave him the most absolute of any Sovereign in the World.

A Fourth, the Allowance of no Honours nor Charges, no more than Lands to be hereditary, but all to depend upon the Will of the Prince. This applies every Man's Ambition and Avarice to court his present Humour, serve his present Designs, and obey his Commands, of how different Nature soever they

they are, and how frequently changed.

A Fifth was, the Suppression, and in a manner Extinction of all Learning among the Subjects of their whole Empire, at least the Natural Turks and Janizaries in whom the Strength of it consists. This Ignorance makes Way for the most blind Obedience, which is often shaken by Disputes concerning Religion and Government, Liberty and Dominion, and other Arguments of that or some such Nature.

A Sixth was the Institution of that famous Order of the Janizaries than which a greater strain of true and deep Politick, will hardly be observed in any Constitution. This consisted in the arbitrary Choice of such Christian Children, throughout their Dominions, as were esteemed most fit for the Emperor's peculiar Service; and the Choice was made, by the shews or Promises of the greatest growth or Strength of Body, vigor of Constitution, and boldness of Courage. These were taken into the Emperor's Care, and trained up in certain Colledges, or Chambers, as they are called, and by Officers for that purpose, who endeavoured to improve all they could the Advantages of Nature, by those of

Education and of discipline. They were all diligently instructed in the Mahometan Religion, and in the Veneration of the Ottoman Race. Such of them as proved weak of Body, slothful, or Pusillanimous, were turned to labour in Gardens, Buildings, or drudgeries of the Palace; but all that were fit for Military Service, were at a certain Age entred into the Body of *Janisaries*, who were the Emperor's Guards.

By this Means the Number of Christians was continually lessened throughout the Empire, and weakned by the Loss of such, as were like to prove the bravest and strongest of their Races. That of *Mussulmans* was increased in the same Proportions, and a mighty Body of chosen Men kept up perpetually in discipline and Pay, who esteemed themselves not only as Subjects or Slaves, but even Pupils and domestick Servants of the Grand Seignior's Persons and Family.

A Seventh was, the great Temperance introduced into the general Customs of the Turks, but more particularly of the Janisaries, by the severe Defence and Abstinence of Wine; and by the Provision of one only sort of Food

Food for their Armies, which was Rice; of this Grain, as every Man is able to carry upon Occasion Enough for several days, so the quantity provided for every Expedition is but according to the number, with no distinction for the Quality of Men; so that upon a March, or in a Camp, a Colonel has no more allowed him than a private Soldier. Nor are any, but General Officers, encumbered with Train or Baggage, which gives them mighty Advantages in their German Wars, among whom every Officer has a Family in Proportion to his Command during the Campaign, as well as in his Quarters; and the very Soldiers used to carry their Wives with them into the Field; whereas a Turkish Army consists only of fighting Men.

The last I shall mention, is the Speediness as well as Severity of their Justice both Civil and Military, which though often subject thereby to Mistakes, and deplored by the Complaints and Calamities of innocent Persons, yet it is maintained upon this Principle fixt among them, *That 'tis better two innocent Men should die, than one guilty live.* And this indeed agrees with the whole Cast or Frame of their Empire, which

which seems to have been in all points the fiercest, as that of the *Inca's* was the gentlest, that of *China* the wisest, and that of the *Goths* the bravest in the World.

The Growth and Progress of this Turkish Empire, under the Ottoman Race, was so sudden and so violent, the two or three first Centuries, that it raised Fear and Wonder throughout the World, but seems at a stand for these last hundred Years, having made no Conquest, since that of *Hungary*, except the Remainder of *Candia*, after a very long War so bravely maintained by the small Venetian State, against so mighty Powers. The Reason of this may be drawn, not only from the Periods of Empire, that like natural Bodies, grow for a certain time, and to a certain Size, which they are not to exceed but from some other Causes, both within and without, which seems obvious enough.

The First, a Neglect in the Observance of some of these Orders, which were essential to the Constitutions of their Government. For after the Conquest of *Cyprus*, and the Example of *Selims* Intemperance, in those and other Wines, that

that Custom and Humour prevailed against their Laws of Abstinence, in that point so severely enjoyned by *Mahomet*, and so long observed among all his Followers. And tho' the Turks and Janizaries endeavoured to avoid the Scandal and Punishment by drinking in private, yet they felt the Effects in their Bodies, and in their Humours, whereof the last needs no inflaming among such hot Tempers, and their Bodies are weakned by this Intemperance, joined to their abandoned Luxury in point of Women.

Besides, The Institution of Janizraies has been much alter'd, by the Corruption of Officers, who have long suffer'd the Christians to buy off that Tribute of their Children, and the Turks to purchase the preferment of theirs into that Order for Money; by which means the choice of this Militia is not made from the strongest and most warlike Bodies of Men, but from the Purses of the Parents or Friends.

These two Distempers have produced another, much greater and more fatal than both, which is the mutinous Humour of this Body of Janizaries, who finding their own Strength, began to make what Changes they pleased in the

the State, till having been long flush'd with the Blood of the Basha's and Vissiers, they made bold at last with that of their Princes themselves; and having deposed and strangled *Ibrahim*, they set up his Son, the present Emperor, then a Child. But the Distemper ended not there, they fell into new Factions, changed and murdered several Vissiers, and divided into so powerful Parties, and with so fierce Contentions, that the *Bassa* of *Aleppo*, with an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men, set up for himself (tho' under Pretence of a counterfeited Son of *Morat*) and caused such a Convulsion of this mighty State, that the Ottoman Race had ended, if this bold Adventure had not upon confidence in the Faith of a Treaty, been surprized and strangled by Order of old *Cuperly*, then newly come to be Grand Vissier, and absolute in the Government. This Man entering the Ministry, at fourscore years old, cruel by nature, and hardened by Age, to allay the heat of Blood in that distemper'd Body of the Janizaries, and the other Troops, cut off near Forty Thousand of them in three Years time, by private, sudden, and violent Executions, without form of Laws or Trials,

Trials, or hearing any sorts of Pleas or Defences. His Son, succeeding in the place of Grand Visier, found the Empire so dispirited, by his Father's Cruelty, and the Militia remaining so spited and distemper'd, breathing new Comotions and Revenges, that he diverted the Humour by an easy War upon the *Venetians*, *Transilvanians*, or the remainders of *Hungary*, till by Temper and Conduct he had closed the Wounds which his Father had left bleeding, and restored the strength of the Ottoman Empire to that degree, that the succeeding Visier invaded *Germany*, though against the Faith of Treaties, or of a Truce not expired, and at last besieged *Vienna*, which is a story too fresh and too known to be told here.

Another reason has been, the neglect of their Marine Affairs, or of their former Greatness at Sea; so as for many years they hardly pretend to any Successes on that Element, but commonly say, *That God has given the Earth to the Mussulmans, and the Sea to the Christians.*

The last I shall observe, is the excessive use of Opium, with which they seek to repair the want of Wine, and to divert

divert their Melancholly Reflections, upon the ill Condition of their Fortunes and Lives, ever uncertain, and depending upon the Will or Caprice of the Grand Seigniors, or of the Grand Vicer's Humour and Commands; but the effect of this Opium is very transitory; and tho' it allays for the present all Melancholly Fumes and Thoughts, yet when the Operation is past, they return again, which makes the use of it so often repeated; and nothing more dispirits and enervates both the Body and the Mind of those that frequently use it.

The external Reason of the Stand made this last Century, in the growth of the Turkish Empire, seems to have been, their having before extended it, till they came to such strong Bars as were not to be broken. For they were grown to border upon the Persian Empire to the East, upon the *Tartars* to the North, upon the *Aethiopians* to the South, and upon the German Empire to the West, and turned their Prospect this way, as the easiest and most plausible, being against a Christian State.

Now this Empire of Germany, consisting of such large Territories, such Numbers and Bodies of Warlike Men; when

when united in any common Cause or Quarrel, seems as strongly constituted for Defence, as the Turkish is for Invasion or Conquest. For being composed of many Civil and Moderate Governments, under Legal Princes, or Free States, the Subjects are all fond of their Liberties and Laws, and abhor the falling under any Foreign or Arbitrary Dominions, and in such a common Cause seem to be invincible. On the contrary, the Turkish Territories being all enslaved, and thereby in a Manner desolated, have no Force but that of their standing Armies, and their People in general care not either for the Progress of their Victories abroad, nor even for the Defence of their own Countries, since they are sure to lose nothing, but may hope reasonably to gain by any change of Master, or of Government, which makes that Empire the worse constituted that can be for Defence, upon any great Misfortune to their Armies.

The Effect of these two different Constitutions had been seen and felt (in all Probability) to the wonder of the whole World, in these late Revolutions, if the Divine Decrees had not crossed

crossed all Human Appearances. For the Grand Visier might certainly have taken *Vienna*, before the confederate Princes could have united for its Relief, if the Opinion of vast Treasures (there assembled for shelter from all the adjacent Parts) had not given him a passionate Desire to take the Town by Composition rather than by Storm, which must have left all its Wealth a Prey to the Soldiers, and not to the General.

If the Turks had possessed this Bulwark of Christendom, I do not conceive what could have hindred them from being Masters immediately of *Austria*, and all its depending Provinces ; nor in another Year of all *Italy*, or of the Southern Provinces of *Germany*, as they should have chosen to carry on their Invasion, or of both, in two or three Years time ; and how fatal this might have been to the rest of Christendom, or how it might have enlarged the Turkish Dominions, is easy to conjecture.

On the other side, after the Defeat of the Grand Visier's Army, his Death, and that of so many brave Basha's, and other Captans, by the
usual

usual Humour and Faction of that bloody Court: After such Slaughters of the Janizaries, in so many Encounters, and such an Universal Discouragement of their Troops, that could no where withstand the German Arms and Bravery; if upon the taking of *Belgrade*, the Emperor had been at the Head of the Forces then in his Service, united under one great Commander, and without dependance upon the several Princes by whom they were raised, I do not see what could have hindred them from conquering all before them, in that open Country of *Bulgaria* and *Romania*, nor from taking *Constantinople* it self, upon the course of an easy War, in such a Decline of the Turkish Empire, with so weak and dispirited Troops as those that remained, a Treasure so exhausted, a Court so divided, and such a general Consternation as appeared in that great and tumultuous City, upon these Occasions.

But God Almighty had not decreed any so great Revolution, either for the Ruin or Advantage of Christendom, and seems to have left both Empires at a Bay, and not likely to make any great Enterprises on either side, but rather

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to fall into the Designs of a Peace which may probably leave *Hungary* to the Possession as well as Right of the House of *Austria*, and the Turks in a condition of giving no great Fears or Dangers, in our Age, to the rest of Christendom.

Although the Mahometan Empires were not raised like others, upon the Foundations, or by the Force of Heroick Virtue, but rather by the Practices of a subtle Man, upon the Simplicity of credulous People ; yet the Growth of them has been influenced by several Princes, in whom some Beams at least of that Sun have shined, such as *Almanzor*, *Saladine*, *Ottoman*, and *Solyman the Great*. And because I have named the most Heroick Persons of that Sect, it will be but Justice to Nobler Nations, to mention at the same time, those who appear to have shined the brightest in their several Ages or Countries, and the Lustre of whose Virtues, as well as Greatness, has been sullied with the fewest noted Blemishes or Defaults, and who for deserving well of their own Countries by their Actions, and of Mankind by their Examples, have eternized their Memories in the
true

true Records of Fame, which is ever just to the dead, how partial soever it may be to the living, from the forced Applauses of Power, or fulsome Adulations of servile Men.

Such as these were among the ancient Grecians, *Epaminondas*, *Pericles*, and *Agefilans*. Of the Old Roman State, the first *Scipio*, *Marcellus*, and *Paulus Æmilius*. Of the Roman Emperors, *Augustus*, *Trajan*, and *Marcus Antoninus*. Among the *Goths*, *Alaric* and *Theodorick*. Of the Western Emperors, *Charlemain*, *Frederick Barbarossa*, and *Charles the Fifth*. Of the French Nation, *Faramond*, *Charles Martel*, and *Henry the Fourth*, who began three of their Noblest Races. Of the *Swedes*, *Gustavus Adolphus*. And of our own, *Richard the First*; the *Black Prince*, and *Harry the Fifth*. To these I may add seven Famous Captains, or smaller Princes, whose Exploits and Virtues may justly allow them to be ranked with so great Kings and Emperors. *Ætius* and *Belisarius*, the two last great Comanders of the Roman Armies, after the Division and Decay of that Mighty State, who did set up the last Trophies, and made the bravest Defences against

the Numbers and Fury of those Barbarous Nations, that invaded, and after their time tore in peices that whole Empire. *George Castriot*, commonly call'd *Scanderbeg*, Prince of *Epire*, and *Huniades* Vice-Roy of *Hungaria*, who were two most victorious Captains, and excellent Men, the true Champions of *Christendom*, whilst they lived, and Terror of the Turks; who with small Forces held at a Bay, for so many years, all the Powers of the Ottoman Empire. *Ferdinand Gonzalvo*, that Noble Spaniard, worthily Sirnamed the Great Captain, who by his sole Prowess and Conduct, conquered a Crown for his Master, which he might have worn for himself, if his Ambition had been equal to his Courage and Virtues. *William* Prince of *Orange*, who restored the Belgick Liberties, and was the Founder of their State, esteemed generally the best and wisest Commander of his Age, and who at the sudden Point of his Death, as well as in the course of his Life, gave such Testimonies of his being a true Lover of the People and Country he govern'd. *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, who by his Wisdom Courage and Justice, recovered
Ten

Ten of the Seventeen Provinces, that were in a manner lost to the Crown of *Spain*; made two famous Expeditions for relief of his Confederates, into the Heart of *France*, and seemed to revive the ancient Roman Virtue and Discipline in the World, and to bring the noble Genius of *Italy* to appear once more upon the Stage.

Whoever has a mind to trace the Paths of Heroick, Virtue, which lead to the Temple of True Honour and Fame, need seek them no further, than in the Stories and Examples of those Illustrious Persons here assembled. And so I leave this Crown of never fading Laurel, in full view of such great and noble Spirits, as shall deserve it, in this or in succeeding Ages. Let them win it and wear it.

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S E C T.

S E C T. VI.

UPON the Survey of all the Great Actions and Revolutions, occasioned in the World by the Conquests and Progresses of these four mighty Empires, as well as the other four, so much renowned in Story : It may not be impertinent, to reflect upon the Causes of Conquests as well as the Effects, and deduce them from their natural Sources, as far as they can be discovered, tho' like those of great Rivers, they are usually obscure or taken little notice of, until their Streams increasing by the Influence of many others, make so mighty Innundations, as to grow famous in the Stories, as well as Maps of the World.

To this End I shall observe three things upon the general course of Conquests, the most renowned and best recorded, in what remains of ancient as well as modern Histories.

First,

First, that they have generally proceeded from North to South, so as we find none besides those of the *Saracens* that can be said to have failed the contrary course, and those were animated by another Spirit, which was the *Mahometan* Perswasion of Predestination, that made them careless of their Lives, and thereby fearless of Dangers. For all the rest, they have run the course before mentioned, unless we should admit the Traditions, rather than Relations of the Conquests of *Sciostris*, who is reported by the Ancients to have subdued all, from *Ægypt* to the River *Tanais*: But this we may not allow for truth, because it must have preceeded the Reign of *Ninus*, and so disagree with the Chronology of Holy Scripture ; and therefore it must be exploded for fabulous, with other Reliques of ancient Story, as the *Scythians* having subdued and possessed *Asia* so many hundred years before the Empire of *Ninus*, and their Wives having given so ancient a beginning to the famous Kingdom of the *Amazons*, whereof some Remnants only, are said to have remained in *Alexander's* time : Yet the Fame was then believ'd, of their having anciently extended their Dominion over

all the lesser *Asia*, as well as *Armenia*, and of their having founded the famous Temple of *Diana*, at *Ephesus*, which is the more probable, from that Apellation of *Taurica* that was anciently given her.

But the great Conquests, recorded and undisputed in Story, have been of the *Assyrians* Southwards, as far as *Arabia* and *India*. Of the *Persians*, from the *Caspian* Sea, to the utmost extent of the preceeding Empire and of *Ægypt*. Of the *Macedonians* over *Greece* and all the Bounds of the *Persian* Kingdom. Of the *Romans* over the Greek Empire as far as *Parthia* Eastward, and over *Sicily*, *Spain* and *Africk* to the South, before the Progress of their Arms towards the North-West. Of the *Tartars* over all *China* and *India*. And of the *Goths* and other Northern Nations over all the more Southern Provinces of *Europe*.

The second Observation I shall make upon the subject of Victory and Conquest is, that they have generally been made by the smaller Numbers over the greater, against which I do not remember any Exception in all the famous Battles registerd in Story, excepting that of *Tamerlane* and *Bajazet* whereof the first is

is said to have exceeded about a fourth part in Number, though they were so vast on both sides, that they were not very easy to be well accounted. For the rest, the number of the *Persians*, with *Cyrus* were small to those of the *Assyrians*: Those of the *Macedonians* were in no Battle against the *Persians*, above forty thousand Men, tho' sometimes against three, four, or six hundred thousand. The *Athenian* Army little exceeded ten thousand, and fighting for the Liberties of their Country. beat above sixscore thousand *Persians* at *Marathon*. The *Lacedemonians*, in all the Famous Exploits of that State, never had above twelve thousand *Spartans* in the Field at a time, and seldom above twenty thousand Men with their Allies*. The *Romans* ever fought with smaller against greater Numbers, unless in the Battles of *Canna* and *Thrasimene*, which were the only famous ones they lost against Foreign Enemies; and *Cesar's* Army at *Pharsalia*, as well as in *Gaul* and *Germany*, were in no proportion to those he conquered. That of *Marinus* was not above forty thousand

* And yet they are recorded never to have asked how many their Enemies were, but only where they were.

against three hundred thousand *Cimbers*. The famous Victories of *Ætius* and *Belisarius* against the barbarous Northern Nations, were with mighty disproportion of Numbers, as likewise the first Victories of the *Turks* upon the *Persian* Kingdom; of the *Tartars* upon the *Chineses*: And *Scanderbeg* never saw together above sixteen thousand Men, in all the renowned Victories he atcheived against the *Turks*, though in numbers sometimes above an hundred thousand.

To descend to later times, the English Victories so renowned at *Cressy*, *Poitiers* and *Agencourt*, were gained with disadvantages of numbers out of all proportion. The great Atchievements of *Charles* the eighth in *Italy*, of *Henry* the fourth in *France*, and of *Gustavus Adolphus* in *Germany*, were ever perform'd with smaller against greater numbers. In this Age, and among all the Exploits that have so justly raised the Reputation and Honour of *Monsieur Turenne* for the greatest Captain of his Time, I do not remember any of them were atchieved, without disadvantage of Number: And the late Defeat of the *Turks* at the Siege of *Vienna* which saved *Christendom*, and has eternized the Name of the Duke of *Lorain*, was too

too fresh and great an Example of this Assertion, to need any more, or leave it in dispute.

From these two Principles of Conquest having proceeded from the North to the South, and by smaller over greater number, we may conclude, that they may be attributed to the Constitutions of Mens Bodies who compose the Armies that atchieve them, or to the dispositions of their Minds. The first of these may be either native or habituate, and the latter may be either natural or infused. 'Tis without question, the Northern Bodies are greater and stronger than the Southern, and also more healthy and more vigorous. The reason whereof, is obvious to every man's Conjecture, both from the common Effects of Air upon Appetites and Digestion, and from the roughness of the Soil, which forces them upon Labour and Hardship. Now the true Original greatness of any Kingdom or Nation, may be accounted by the number of strong and able Bodies of their Native Subjects. This is the Natural Strength of Governments, all the rest is Art, Discipline, or Institution.

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The next Ingredient into the Composition of conquering Forces, is Fearlessness of Mind, whether it be occasion'd by the Temper of the Clmat, or Race, of which Men are born, or by Custom, which inures Men to be insensible of Danger, or by Passions or Opinions that are rais'd in them; For they may all have the same Effect. We see the very Beasts and Birds of some Countries as well as the Men, are naturally fearless. We see long Service in Armies, or at Sea, makes Men insensible of Dangers. We see the Love of Liberty, desire of Revenge, and Defence of their Country or Prince, renders them careless of Life. The very confidence of Victory, either from former and frequent Successes, from the esteem and Opinion of their Commanders, or from the Scorn of their Enemies, makes Armies victorious. But chiefly, the firm and rooted Opinions of Reward or Punishment attending another World, and of obtaining the one or avoiding the other, by dying or conquering in the Quarrel they are engaged in. And these are the great Sources of Victory and Fortune in Arms; for let the numbers be what they will, That Army is ever beaten, where

where the Fright first enters. Few Battles were lost of old, but none since the use of Gunpowder, by the Greatness of down right Slaughter, before an Army runs; and the Noise and smoak of Guns both increases Fear, and covers Shame, more than the ancient use of Arms, so that since those of Fire came in, Battles have been usually shorter and less bloody than before.

If it be true (which I think will not be denied either by Soldiers or reasonable Men) that the Battle is lost where the Fright first enters, then the reason will appear, why Victory has generally followed the smaller numbers, because in a Body composed of more parts, it may sooner enter upon one, than in that which consists of fewer, as 'tis likelier to find ten wise Men together than an hundred, and an hundred fearless Men than a thousand; And those who have the smaller Forces, endeavour most to supply that Defect by the choice Discipline, and Bravery of their Troops: And where the Fright once enters an Army, the greater the number, the greater the disorder, and thereby the loss of the Battle more certain and sudden.

From

From all this I conclude, that the Composition of Victorious Armies, and the great true Ground of Conquest, consists first in the choice of the strongest, ablest, and hardiest Bodies of Men: Next, in the exactness of Discipline, by which they are innured to Labour and Dangers, and to fear their Commanders more than their Enemies: And lastly, in the Spirit given them by Love of their Country or their Prince, by Impressions of Honour or Religion, to render them fearless of Death, and so incapable, or at least very difficult, to receive any Fright, or break thereby into Disorder; And I question not, but any brave Prince or General at the Head of forty thousand Men, who would certainly stand their Ground, and sooner dye than leave it, might fight any Number of Forces that can be drawn together in any Feild: For besides that a greater number may fall sooner into Fright and disorder, perhaps a greater can hardly be drawn into the Action of one Days Battle, whereas very few in late Ages have lasted half that time.

The last Remark I shall make upon this Subject is, that the conquering Nations have generally been those, who

who placed the Strength of their Arms in their Foot, and not in their Horse, which have never, till these later Years been esteemed capable of breaking a firm Body of Foot; nor does their Force seem to consist in other Advantage, besides that of giving Terror upon the Fury of their first Charge: Nor is this Opinion less grounded upon Reason than Experience. For besides, that Men are firmer upon their own feet than those of their Horses, and less in danger of falling into disorder, which may come from want of Discipline or Courage in the Horses as well as their Riders: It is hard to imagine, that Spurs in the Sides of Horses, should have more Effect or Force, to make them advance upon a Charge, than Pikes Swords, or Javelins in their Noses and Breasts to make them keep off, fall back or break their Ranks, and run into disorder.

For the Experience, nothing has been more known in all Ages or more undisputed. The Battle of *Marathon* was gained by ten thousand foot, against mighty numbers of *Persian* horse as well as foot. The famous retreat of *Xenophon*, for such a Length of Country and of time, was made at the head of ten thousand

thousand *Greeks* in the Face of forty thousand *Persian* Horse; nor had the *Greeks* above a hundred or sixscore Horse in their Camp, which they made use of only to forage or pursue the *Persian* Horse when they fled in disorder from the points of their Pikes and Javelins. The *Macedonian* Foot, and afterwards the *Macedonian Phalanx*, were impenetrable by all the *Persian* Horse, that ever encountered them. The *Roman* Legions consisted each of six thousand Foot and three hundred Horse, which was all the proportion they ever had in their victorious Armies, that could not be broken by the vast numbers of *Spanish*, *Numidian*, or *Persian* and *Armenian* Horse, they were so often engaged with. The force of the *Gothick* Nations consisted in their Foot, and of the *Turkish* and *Ottoman* Empire in their Janizaries. The Noble Conquests of the *English* in *France*, were made all by their Foot; and during that Period of time, when the Crown of *Spain* made so great a Figure in *Europe*, it was all by the force and bravery of their *Spanish* and *Italian* Foot.

There seem to be but two Exceptions against this Rule, which are the ancient
Greatness

Greatness of the *Persians*, and modern of the *French*, whose chief Force have been esteemed to consist in their Horse. But the *Persian* Empire was raised by the Conquest of the Eastern Nations, whose Armies consisted chiefly in Horse, and one against the other, the best carried it, till they came to deal with the *Grecian* Foot, after which they were ever beaten. For the *French* Armies, though the Bravery of their Cavalry has been great and noble, as made up of so numerous a Gentry in that Kingdom, yet one chief Strength of their Troops must be allowed for the several late Reigns, to have lain in their Bands of *Switzers*; and in this present Reign, *Mareschal Turenne* must be acknowledged to have made way for his Master's Greatness, by improving the Bodies of *French* Foot with Force of Choice and Discipline, beyond what they had ever been thought capable of before his Time.

I shall end this Remark with an Adventure I remember to have read in the Stories of the Dukes of *Milan*: One of them having routed a great Army of his Enemies, was enraged to find a Body of *Switzers* make still a firm Stand against all his victorious Troops; He endeavoured

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voured to break them by a desperate Charge, of some Squadrons of his *Gens d' Arms*, who were all armed, as well as the Heads and Breasts of their Horses, and so proof, as he thought, against the *Switzers* Pikes. But all this Effort proved in vain, till at length the Duke commanded three or four hundred of them to alight from their Horses, and armed as they were, to fall in upon the *Switzers* with their Swords; They did it so desperately, some catching hold of the Heads of their Pikes, others cutting them in Pieces with their broad Swords, that they at last made way for themselves and other Troops that followed them, and broke this Body of brave *Switzers*, which had been impenetrable by any Horse that could Charge them: And this seems an evident Testimony, that the Impressions of Horse upon Foot, are made by Terror rather than Force, and where that first enters, the Action is soon decided.

After all that has been said of Conquerors or Conquests, this must be confessed to hold but the second Rank in the Pretensions to Heroick Virtue, and that the first has been allowed, to the wise Institution of just Orders and Laws, which

which frame safe and happy Governments in the World. The Designs and Effects of Conquests, are but the Slaughter and Ruin of Mankind; the ravaging of Countries, and defacing the World. Those of wise and just Governments, are preserving and encreasing the Lives and Generations of Men securing their Possessions, encouraging their Endeavours, and by Peace and Riches, improving and adorning the several Scenes of the World.

So the Institutions of *Moses* leave him a Diviner Character than the Victories of *Joshua*. Those of *Belus*, *Osiris* and *Janus*, than the Prowess of *Ninus*, *Cyrus* and *Sesostris*. And if among the Ancients, some Men have been esteemed Heroes, by the brave Atcheivements of great Conquests and Victories; It has been, by the wise Institution of Laws and Governments, that others have been honoured and adored as Gods.

ESSAY IV.

Of Poetry,

TH E Two common Shrines, to which most Men offer up the Application of their Thoughts and their Lives, are Profit and Pleasure, and by their Devotions to either of these, they are vulgarly distinguished into Two Sects, and called either busy or idle Men. Whether these Terms differ in meaning, or only in sound, I know very well may be disputed, and with appearance enough, since the Covetous Man takes perhaps as much Pleasure in his Gains as the Voluptuous does in his Luxury, and would not pursue his Business unless he were pleased with it, upon the last Account of what he most Wishes and Desires, nor would care for the Encrease of his Fortunes, unless he

proposed thereby, that of his Pleasures too, in one Kind or other, so that Pleasure may be said to be his End, whether he will allow to find it in his pursuit or no. Much ado there has been, many words spent, or (to speak with more Respect to the ancient Philosophers) many Disputes have been raised upon this Argument, I think to little purpose, and that all has been rather an Exercise of Wit than an Enquiry after Truth, and all Controversies that can never end, had better perhaps never begin. The best is to take Words as they are most commonly spoken and meant, like Coin as it most currently passes, without raising Scruples upon the weight of the allay, unless the Cheat or the Defect, be gross and evident. Few Things in the World or none, will bear too much refining, a Thread too fine spun will easily break, and the Point of a Needle too finely filed. The usual Acceptation takes Profit and Pleasure, for two different Things, and not only calls the Followers or Votaries of them, by several Names of Busy and of Idle Men, but distinguishes the Faculties of the Mind, that
are

are Conversant about them, calling the Operations of the first, Wisdom, and of the other, Wit, which is a *Saxon* Word, that is used to express, what the *Spaniards* and *Italians* call *Ingenio*, and the *French*, *Esprit*, both from the *Latin*; but I think Wit more peculiarly signifies that of *Poetry*, as may occur upon Remarks of the *Runick* Language. To the first of these are Attributed, the Inventions or Productions of Things generally esteemed the most necessary, useful, or profitable to Human Life, either in Private Possessions or publick Institutions: To the other, those Writings or Discourses, which are the most Pleasing or Entertaining, to all that read or hear them; Yet, according to the Opinion of those that link them together, As the Inventions of Sages and Law-givers themselves, do please as well as Profit those who approve and follow them; So those of Poets, Instruct and Profit as well as Please such as are Conversant in them, and the happy Mixture of both these, makes the Excellency in both those Compositions, and has given Occasion for Esteeming, or

at least for calling Heroick Virtue and Poetry, Divine.

The Names given to Poets, both in *Greek* and *Latin*, express the same Opinion of them in those Nations; The *Greek* signifying Makers or Creators, such as raise admirable Frames and Fabricks out of nothing, which strike with wonder, and with Pleasure the Eyes and Imaginations of those who behold them; the *Latin* makes the same Word, common to Poets and to Prophets. Now as Creation is the first Attribute and highest Operation of Divine Power, so is Prophecy the greatest Emanation of Divine Spirit in the World. As the Names in those Two Learned Languages, so the Causes of Poetry, are by the Writers of them, to be Divine, and to proceed from a Cœlestial Fire, or Divine Inspiration, and by the vulgar Opinions, recited or related to in many Passages of those Authors, the Effects of Poetry were likewise thought Divine and Supernatural, and Power of Charms and Enchantments were ascribed to it.

*Carmina vel Cælo possunt deducere Lunam,
Carmi-*

*Carminibus Circe Socios mutavit Ulyffis,
Frigidus in pratis cantando rumpitur An-
(guis.*

But I can easily admire Poetry, and yet without adoring it; I can allow it to arise from the greatest Excellency of natural Temper, or the greatest Race of Native Genius, without exceeding the Reach of what is Human, or giving it any Approaches of Divinity, which is, I doubt debased or dishonoured, by ascribing to it any thing, that is in the Compass of our Action, or even Comprehension, unless it be raised by an immediate Influence from it self. I cannot allow Poetry to be more Divine in its Effects, than in its Causes, nor any Operation produced by it, to be more than purely natural, or to deserve any other Sort of Wonder than those of Musick, or of Natural Magick, however any of them have appeared to Minds little Versed in the Speculations of Nature, of occult Qualities, and the Force of Numbers or of Sounds. Whoever talks of drawing down the Moon from Heaven, by Force of Verses or of Charms, either
be

believes not himself, or too easily believes what others told him, or perhaps follows an Opinion, begun by the Practice of some Poet, upon the Facility of some People, who knowing the time when an Eclipse would happen, told them, he would by his Charms call down the Moon at such an Hour, and was by them thought to have performed it.

When I read that charming Description in *Virgil's* Eighth Eclogue of all Sorts of Charms and Fascinations by Verses, by Images, by Knots, by Numbers, by Fire, by Herbs, imployed upon Occasion of a violent Passion, from a jealous or disappointed Love; I have Recourse to the strong Impressions of Fables and of Poetry, to the easy Mistakes of Popular Opinions, to the Force of Imagination, to the Secret Virtues of several Herbs, and to the Powers of Sounds: And I am sorry the Natural History, or Account of Fascination, has not employed the Pen of some Person, of such excellent Wit, and deep Thought and Learning, as *Causaubon*, who writ that curious and useful Treatise of *Enthusiasm*, and by

by it discovered the hidden or mistaken Sources of that Delusion, so frequent in all Regions and Religions of the World, and which had so fatally spread over our Country in that Age, in which this Treatise was so seasonably published. 'Tis much to be lamented, That he lived not to compleat that Word, in the Second Part he promised; or that his Friends neglected the publishing it, if it were left in Papers, though loose and unfinished. I think a clear Account of Enthusiasm and Fascination from their natural Causes, would very much deserve from Mankind in General, as well as from the Common-Wealth of Learning; might perhaps prevent so many Publick Disorders, and save the Lives of many innocent, deluded, or deluding People, who suffer so frequently upon Account of Witches and Wizards. I have seen many miserable Examples of this Kind, in my Youth at Home; And though the Humour or Fashion, be a good deal worn out of the World, within Thirty or Forty Years past, yet it still remains in several remote Parts of *Germany, Sweden* and some other Countries.

But

But to return to the Charms of Poetry, if the forsaken Lover, in that Eclogue of *Virgil*, had expected only from the Force of her Verses, or her Charms, what is the Burthen of the Song, to bring *Daphnis* home from the Town where he was gone and engaged in a new Amour; If she had pretended only to revive an old fainting Flame, or to damp a new one that was kindling in his Breast, she might, for ought I know, have compassed such Ends, by the Power of such Charms, and without other than very natural Enchantments. For there is no Question, but true Poetry may have the Force, to raise Passions, and to allay them, to change and to extinguish them, to temper Joy and Grief, to raise Love and Fear, nay to turn Fear into Boldness, and Love into Indifference, and into Hatred it self; and I easily believe, That the disheartened *Spartans*, were new animated, and recovered their lost Courage, by the Songs of *Tyrteus*, that the Cruelty and Revenge of *Phaloris*, were changed by the Odes of *Stesichorus*, into the greatest Kindness and Esteem, and that many Men were as passionately

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enamoured, by the Charms of *Sappho's* Wit and Poetry, as by those of Beauty in *Flora* or *Thais*; for 'tis not only Beauty gives Love, but Love gives Beauty to the Object that raises it; and if the Possession be strong enough, let it come from what it will there is always Beauty enough in the Person that gives it. Nor is it any great Wonder, that such Force should be found in Poetry, since in it are assembled all the Powers of Eloquence, of Musick and of Picture, which are all allowed to make so strong Impressions upon Humane Minds. How far Men have been affected with all, or any of these, needs little Proof or Testimony. The Examples have been known enough in *Greece* and in *Italy*, where some have fallen down-right in Love, with the Ravishing Beauties of a Lovely Object drawn by the Skill of an admirable Painter, nay, Painters themselves, have fallen in Love with some of their own Productions, and doated on them, as on a Mistress or a Fond Child, which distinguishes among the *Italians*, the several Pieces that are done by the same Hand, into several Degrees of those made, *Con Studio*,

Studio, Con Diligenza, or Con Amore; whereof the last are ever the most excellent. But there needs no more Instances of this Kind than the Stories related, and believed by the best Authors, as known and undisputed; Of the two young *Grecians*, one whereof ventured his Life, to be lock'd up all Night in the Temple, and satisfy his Passion with the Embraces and Enjoyment of a Statue of *Venus*, that was there set up, and designed for another Sort of Adoration; the other pined away and dyed for being hindred his perpetually gazing, admiring, and embracing a Statue at *Athens*.

The Powers of Musick are either felt and known by all Men, and are allowed to work strangely upon the Mind and the Body, the Passions and the Blood, to raise Joy and Grief, to give Pleasure and Pain, to cure Diseases, and the Mortal Sting of the *Tarantula*, to give Motions to the Feet as well as the Heart, to Compose disturbed Thoughts, to assist and heighten Devotion it Self. We need no Recourse to the Fables of *Orpheus* or *Amphion*, or the Force of their Musick upon Fishes and Beasts; 'tis enough that we find

find the Charming of Serpents, and the Cure or Allay of an evil Spirit or Possession, attributed to it in Sacred Writ.

For the Force of Eloquence, that so often raised and appeased the Violence of Popular Commotions, and caused such Convulsions in the *Athenian* State, no Man need more, to make him acknowledge it, than to consider *Cæsar*, one of the greatest and wisest of mortal Men, come upon the Tribunal, full of Hatred and Revenge, and with a determined Resolution to condemn *Labienus*, yet upon the Force of *Cicero's* Eloquence, (in an Oration for his Defence) begin to change Countenance, turn pale, shake to that Degree, that the Papers he held, fell out of his Hand as if he had been frighted with Words, that never was so with Blows, and at last change all his Anger into Clemency, and acquit the brave Criminal, instead of condemning him.

Now if the Strength of these three mighty Powers, be united in Poetry, we need not Wonder, that such Virtues, and such Honours have been attributed to it, that it has been thought to be inspired, or has been called Divine,

vine, and yet I think it will not be disputed, that the Force of Wit, and of reasoning, the Height of Conceptions and Expressions, may be found in Poetry as well as in Oratory, the Life and Spirit of Representation or Picture as much as in Painting, and the Force of Sounds as well as in Musick; and how far these three natural Powers together may extend, and to what Effect, (even such as may be mistaken for supernatural or Magical) I leave it to such Men to consider, whose Thoughts turn to such Speculations as these, or who by their Native Temper and Genius, are in some Degree disposed, or receive the Impressions of them. For my part, I do not wonder, that the famous Doctor *Harvey* when he was reading *Virgil*, should sometimes throw him down upon the Table; and say he had a Devil; nor that the learned *Meric Casaubon*, should find such Charming Pleasures and Emotions, as he describes, upon the reading some Parts of *Lucretius*; that so many should cry, and with down right Tears, at some Trajadies of *Shake Spear*, and so many more should feel such Turns or Curdling of their
 Blood,

Blood, upon the reading or hearing some excellent Pieces of Poetry, nor that *Octavia* fell into a Swoond, at the Recital made by *Virgil* of those Verses in the Sixth of his *Æneides*.

This is enough to assert the Powers of Poetry, and discover the Ground of those Opinions of old, which derived it from Divine Inspirations, and gave it so great a Share in the supposed Effects of Sorcery or Magick. But as the Old Romances seem to lessen the Honour of true Prowess and Valour in their Knights, by giving such a part in all their chief Adventures to Enchantment, so the true Excellency and Just Esteem of Poetry, seems rather debased than exalted, by the Stories or Belief of the Charms performed by it, which among the *Northern Nations*, grew so strong and so general, that about five or six hundred Years ago, all the *Runick* Poetry came to be decried, and those ancient Characters, in which they were written, to be abolished by the Zeal of Bishops, and even by Orders and Decrees of State, which has given a great Maim, or rather an irrecoverable Loss to the Story of those *Northern Kingdoms*, the Seat of
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our Ancestors in all the *Western* parts of *Europe*

The more true and natural Source of Poetry may be discovered, by observing to what God this Inspiration was ascribed by the Ancients, which was *Apollo*, or the Sun, esteemed among them the God of Learning in general, but more particularly of Musick and of Poetry. The Mystery of this Fable, means, I suppose, that a certain Noble and Vital Heat of Temper, but especially of the Brain, is the true Spring of these Two parts or Sciences: This was that *Cælestial Fire*, which gave such a pleasing Motion and Agitation to the Minds of those Men, that have been so much admired in the World, that raises such infinite Images of Things so agreeable and delightful to Mankind; By the Influence of this Sun, are produced those Golden and Inexhausted Mines of Invention, which has furnished the World with Treasures so highly esteemed, and so universally known and used, in all the Regions that have yet been discovered. From this arises that Elevation of Genius, which can never be produced by any Art or Study, by pains
or

or by Industry, which cannot be taught by Precepts or Examples; and therefore is agreed by all, to be the pure and free Gift of Heaven or of Nature, and to be a Fire kindled out of some hidden Spark of the very first Conception.

But tho' Invention be the Mother of Poetry, yet this Child, is like all others born naked, and must be Nourished with Care, cloathed with Exactness and Elegance, Educated with Industry, Instructed with Art, Improved by Application, Corrected with Severity, and Accomplished with Labour and with Time, before it arrives at any great Perfection or Growth: 'Tis certain that no Composition requires so many several Ingredients, or of more different Sorts than this, nor that to excel in any Qualities, there are necessary so many Gifts of Nature, and so many Improvements of Learning and of Art. For there must be an universal Genius, of great Compass as well as great Elevation. There must be a spritely Imagination or Fancy, fertile in a thousand Productions, ranging over infinite Ground, piercing into every Corner, and by the Light of

that true Poetical Fire, discovering a thousand little Bodies or Images in the World, and Similitudes among them, unseen to common Eyes, and which could not be discovered, without the Rays of that Sun.

Besides the Heat of Invention and Liveliness of Wit, there must be the Coldness of good Sense and Soundness of Judgment, to distinguish between Things and Conceptions, which at first Sight, or upon short Glances, seem alike; to chuse among Infinite Productions of Wit and Fancy, which are worth preserving and cultivating, and which are better stifled in the Birth, or thrown away when they are born, as not worth bringing up. Without the Forces of Wit, all Poetry is flat and languishing; without the Succours of Judgment, 'tis wild and extravagant. The true wonder of Poesy is, That such Contraries must meet to compose it; a Genius both Penetrating and Solid; in Expression both Delicacy and Force; and the Frame or Fabrick of a true Poem, must have something both Sublime and Just, Amazing and Agreeable. There must be a great Agitation of Mind to invent, a great Calm to Judge
and

and correct; there must be upon the same Tree, and at the same Time, both Flower and Fruit. To work up this Metal into exquisite Figure, there must be imploy'd the Fire, the Hammer, the Chizel and the File. There must be a General Knowledge both of Nature and of Arts, and to go the lowest that can be, there are required *Genius*, Judgement, and Application; for without this last, all the rest will not serve turn, and none ever was a great Poet, that applied himself much to any Thing else.

When I speak of Poetry, I mean not an Ode or an Elegy, a Song or a Satyr, nor by a Poet the Composer of any of these, but of a Just Poem; And after all I have said, 'tis no wonder, there should be so few that appeared, in any Parts or any Ages of the World, or that such as have, should be so much admired, and have almost Divinity ascribed to them, and to their Works.

Whatever has been among those, who are mentioned with so much Praise or Admiration by the Ancients, but are lost to us, and unknown any further than their Names, I think no Man has been so bold among those that remain

to question the Title of *Homer* and *Virgil*, not only to the first Rank, but to the supream Dominion in this State, and from whom, as the great Law-givers as well as Princes, all the Laws and Orders of it, are, or may be derived. *Homer* was without Dispute, the most Universal *Genius* that has been known in the World, and *Virgil* the most accomplish'd. To the first must be allowed, the most fertile Invention, the richest Vein, the most general Knowledge, and the most lively Expression: To the last, The noblest Idea's, the justest Institution, the wisest Conduct, and the choicest Elocution. To speak in the Painter's Terms, we find in the Works of *Homer*, the most Spirit, Force, and Life; in those of *Virgil*, the best Design, the truest Proportions, and the greatest Grace; The Colouring in both seems equal, and indeed, is in both admirable. *Homer* had more Fire and Rapture, *Virgil* more Light and Swiftnes; or at least the Poetical Fire was more raging in one, but clearer in the other, which makes the first more amazing, and the latter more agreeable. The Ore was either in one, but in the other more refined,

fin'd, and better allay'd to make up excellent Work. Upon the whole, I think it must be confessed, that *Homer* was of the two, and perhaps of all others, the vastest, the sublimest, and the most wonderful *Genius*; and that he has been generally so esteem'd, there cannot be a greater Testimony given, than what has been by some observ'd, that not only the greatest Masters have found in his Works the best and truest Principles of all their Sciences or Arts, but that the Noblest Nations have deriv'd from them the Original, or their several Races, though it be hardly yet agreed, Whether his Story be true, or Fiction. In short, these two immortal Poets, must be allow'd to have so much excell'd in their Kinds, as to have exceed'd all Comparison, to have even extinguish'd Emulation, and in a Manner confin'd true Poetry, not only to their two Languages, but to their very Persons. And I am apt to believe so much of the true *Genius* of Poetry in General, and of its Elevation in these two Particulars, that I know not, whether of all the Numbers of Mankind, that live within the Compass of a Thousand Years, for one

Man that is born capable of making such a Poet as *Homer* or *Virgil*, there may not be a Thousand born capable of making as Great Generals of Armies, or Ministers of State, as any the most Renowned in Story.

I do not here intend to make a further Critick upon Poetry, which were too great a Labour; nor to give Rules for it, which were as great a Presumption: Besides, there has been so much Paper blotted upon these Subjects, in this Curious and Censuring Age, that 'tis all grown tedious or Repetition. The Modern *French* Wits (or Pretenders) have been very severe in their Censures, and exact in their Rules, I think to very little purpose; for I know not, why they might not have contented themselves with those given by *Aristotle* and *Horace*, and have Translated them rather than Commented upon them, for all they have done has been no more; so as they seem, by their Writings of this Kind, rather to have valued themselves, than improved any Body else. The Truth is, there is something in the *Genius* of Poetry, too Libertine to be confined to so many Rules; and whoever goes about to sub-
ject

ject it to such Constraints, loses both its Spirit and Grace, which are ever Native, and never learnt, even of the best Masters. 'Tis as if, to make excellent Honey, you should cut off the Wings of your Bees, confine them to their Hive or their Stands, and lay Flowers before them, such as you think the sweetest, and like to yeild the finest Extraction; you had as good pull out their Stings, and make arrant Drones of them. They must range through Feilds, as well as Gardens, chuse such Flowers as they please, and by Proprieties and Scents they only know and distinguish: They must work up their Cells with Admirable Art, extract their Honey with infinite Labour, and sever it from the Wax, with such Distinction and Choice, as belongs to none but themselves to perform or to judge.

It would be too much Mortification to these great Arbitrary Rulers among the *French* Writers, or our own, to observe the worthy Productions that have been formed by their Rules, the Honour they have received in the World, or the Pleasure they have given Mankind, But to comfort them,
I do

I do not know, there was any great Poet in *Greece*, after the Rules of that Art laid down by *Aristotle*; nor in *Rome*, after those by *Horace*, which yet none of our Moderns pretend to have out-done. Perhaps *Theophrastus* and *Lucan*, may be alledg'd against this Assertion; but the first offered no further, than at Idils or Ecclogues; and the last, though he must be avowed for a true and happy *Genius*, and to have made some very high Flights, yet he is so unequal to himself, and his Muse is so young, that his Faults are too noted, to allow his Pretences. *Feliciter audet*, is the true Character of *Lucan*, as of *Ovid*, *Lusit amabiliter*. After all, the utmost that can be atcheived, or I think pretended, by any Rules in this Art, is but to hinder some Men from being very ill Poets, but not to make any Man a very good one. To judge who is so, we need go no further for Instruction, than three Lines of *Horace*.

— Ille ~~venum~~ qui *Pectus inaviter angit*,
Irritat, mulcet, falsis Terroribus implet,
Ut Magus, & modo me Thebis, modo ponit
 (*Athenis*).

He

He is a Poet,

*Who vainly anguishes my Breast,
Provokes, allays, and with false Terror fills,
Like a Magician, and now sets me down
In Thebes, and now in Athens.*

Whoever does not affect and move the same present Passions in you, that he represents in others, and at other Times, raise Images about you, as a Conjuror is said to do Spirits, Transport you to the Places and to the Persons he describes, cannot be judged to be a Poet, though his Measures are never so just, his Feet never so smooth, or his Sounds never so sweet.

But instead of Critick, or Rules concerning Poetry, I shall rather turn my Thoughts to the History of it, and observe the Antiquity, the Uses, the Changes, the Decays, that have attended this great Empire of Wit.

It is I think generally agreed, to have been the first Sort of Writing that has been used in the World; and in several Nations to have preceeded the very Invention or Usage of Letters. This last is certain in *America*, where the first *Spaniards* met with
many

many Strains of Poetry, and left several of them translated into their Language, which seem to have flowed from a true Poetick Vein, before any Letters were known in those Regions. The same is probable of the *Scythians*, the *Græcians* and the *Germans*. *Aristotle* says, the *Agathyrsi* had their Laws all in Verse; and *Tacitus*, that the *Germans* had no Annals nor Records but what were so; and for the *Græcian* Oracles delivered in them, we have no certain Account when they began, but rather Reason to believe it was before the Introduction of Letters from *Phœnicia* among them. *Pliny* tells it, as a Thing known, that *Pherecides* was the first who writ Prose in the *Greek* Tongue, and that he lived about the Time of *Cyrus*, whereas *Homer* and *Hesiod* lived some hundreds of Years before that Age; and *Orpheus*, *Linus*, *Musæus*, some Hundreds before them: And of the *Sybils*, several were before any of those, and in Times as well as Places, whereof we have no clear Records now remaining. What *Solon* and *Pythagoras* Writ, is said to have been in Verse, who were something older than *Cyrus*; and before them,

them, were *Archilocus*, *Simonides*, *Tyrtaeus*, *Sappho*, *Stesichorus*, and several other Poets famous in their Times. The same Thing is reported of *Chaldea*, *Syria*, and *China*; Among the Ancient *Western Goths* (our Ancestors) the *Runick* Poetry seems to have been as old as their Letters; and their Laws, their Precepts of Wisdom, as well as their Records, their Religious Rites as well as their Charms and Incantations, to have been all in Verse.

Among the *Hebrews*, and even in Sacred Writ, the most ancient is by some learned Men esteemed to be the Book of *Job*, and that it was Written before the Time of *Moses*, and that it was a Translation into *Hebrew* out of the old *Chaldean* or *Arabian* Language. It may probably be conjectured, that he was not a *Jew*, from the place of his Abode, which appears to have been Seated between the *Chaldeans* of one Side, and the *Sabeans* (who were of *Arabia*) on the other; and by many Passages, of that admirable and truly inspired Poem, the Author seems to have lived in some Parts near the Mouth of *Euphrates*, or the *Persian*

Persian Gulf, where he contemplated the Wonders of the Deep as well as the other Works of Nature, common to those Regions. Nor is it easy to find any Traces of the *Mosaical* Rites or Institutions, either in the Divine Worship, or the Morals related to, in those Writings: For not only Sacrifices and Praises, were much more ancient in Religious Service, than the Age of *Moses*; But the Opinion of one Deity, and Adored without any Idol or Representation, was professed and received among the ancient *Persians* and *Hetruscans* and *Chaldeans*. So that if *Job* was an *Hebrew*, 'tis probable he may have been of the Race of *Heber* who lived in *Chaldæa*, or of *Abraham*, who is supposed to have left that Country for the Profession or Worship of one God, rather than from the Branch of *Isaac* and *Israel*, who lived in the Land of *Canaan*. Now I think it is out of Controversy, that the Book of *Job* was Written Originally in Verse, and was a Poem upon the Subject of the Justice and Power of God, and in Vindication of his Providence, against the common Arguments of Atheistical Men, who took Occasion to dispute it,
from

from the usual Events of Human things, by which so many ill and impious Men seem Happy and prosperous in the Course of their Lives, and so many Pious and Just Men, seem Miserable or Afflicted. The *Spanish* Translation of the *Jews* in *Ferrara*, which pretends to render the *Hebrew* (as near as could be) Word for Word ; and for which, all Translators of the Bible since, have had great Regard, gives us the two first Chapters, and the last from the seventh Verse in Prose, as an Historical Introduction and Conclusion of the Work, and all the rest in Verse, except the Transitions from one part or Person of this Sacred Dialogue to another.

But if we take the Book of *Moses* to be the most ancient in the *Hebrew* Tongue, yet the Song of *Moses* may probably have been Written before the rest ; as that of *Deborah*, before the Book of *Judges*, being Praises sung to God, upon the Victories or Successes of the *Israelites*, related in both. And I never read the last, without observing in it, as true and noble Strains of Poetry and Picture, as in any other Language whatsoever, in Spight of all Disadvantages from Translations into so different Tongues

Tongue and common Prose. If an Opinion of some Learned Men both Modern and Ancient could be allowed, that *Esdra*s was the Writer or Compiler of the first Historical part of the Old Testament, though from the same Divine Inspiration, as that of *Moses* and the other Prophets, then the Psalms of *David* would be the first Writings we find in *Hebrew*; and next to them, the Song of *Solomon*, which was written when he was young, and *Ecclesiastes* when he was old: So that from all Sides, both sacred and prophane, It appears that *Poetry* was the first Sort of Writing known and used in the several Nations of the World.

It may seem strange, I confess, upon the first Thought, that a Sort of Stile so regular and so difficult, should have grown in Use, before the other so easy and so loose: But if we consider, what the first End of Writing was, it will appear probable from Reason as well as Experience; For the true and general End was but the Help of Memory, in preserving that of Words and of Actions, which would otherwise have been lost, and soon vanish away, with the Transitory Passage of Humane Breath
and

and Life. Before the Discourses and Disputes of Philosophers began to busy, or amuse the *Græcian* Wits, there was nothing written in Prose, but either Laws, some short Sayings of Wise Men, or some Riddles, Parables or Fables, wherein were couched by the Ancients, many Straips of Natural and Moral Wisdom and Knowledge, and besides these, some short Memorials of Persons, Actions, and of Times. Now 'tis obvious enough to conceive, how much easier, all such Writings should be learnt and remembered, in Verse than in Prose, not only by the Pleasure of Measures and of Sounds, which gives a great Impression to Memory, but by the Order of Feet which makes a great Facility of tracing one Word after another, by knowing what Sort of Foot or Quantity, must necessarily have preceeded or followed the Words we retain and desire to make up.

This made Poetry so necessary, before Letters were invented, and so convenient afterwards; and shews, that the great Honour and general Request; wherein, it has always been, has not proceeded only from the Pleasure and Delight, but likewise from the Useful-

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ness and Profit of Poetical Writings.

This leads me naturally to the Subjects of Poetry, which have been generally, Praise, Instruction, Story, Love, Grief, and Réproach. Praise was the Subject of all the Songs and Psalms mentioned in Holy Writ, of the Hymns of *Orpheus*, of *Homer* and many others; Of the *Carmina Secularia* in *Rome*, Composed all and Designed for the Honour of their Gods; Of *Pindar*, *Stesichorus*, and *Tyrteus*, in the Praises of Virtue or Virtuous Men. The Subject of *Job*, is Instruction concerning the Attributes of God, and the Works of Nature. Those of *Simonides*, *Phocillides*, *Theognis*, and several other of the smaller Greek Poets, with what passes for *Pythagoras*, are Instructions in Morality; The first Book of *Hesiod* and *Virgil's Georgicks*, in Agriculture, and *Lucretius* in the deepest natural Philosophy. Story is the proper Subject of Heroick Poems, as *Homer* and *Virgil* in their inimitable *Iliads* and *Æneids*; And *Fable*, which is a Sort of Story, in the *Metamorphosis* of *Ovid*. The *Lyrick* Poetry has been chiefly Conversant about Love, tho' turned often upon Praise too; and the Vein of Pastorals and Ecclogues has run the same

same Course, as may be observed in *Theocritus*, *Virgil* and *Horace*, who was, I think, the first and last of true *Lyrick* Poets among the *Latins*: Grief has been always the Subject of *Elegy*, and Reproach that of *Satyr*. The *Dramatick* Poesy has been composed of all these, but the chief End seems to have been Instruction, and under the Disguise of Fables, or the Pleasure of Story, to shew the Beauties and the Rewards of Virtue, the Deformities and Misfortunes, or Punishment of Vice; By Examples of both, to Encourage one, and Deter Men from the other; To Reform ill Custom, Correct ill Manners, and Moderate all violent Passions. These are the general Subjects of both parts; tho' Comedy give us but the Images of common Life, and Tragedy those of the greater and more extraordinary Passions and Actions among Men. To go further upon this Subject, would be to tread so beaten Paths, that to Travel in them, only raises Dust, and is neither of Pleasure nor of Use.

For the Changes that have happened in Poetry, I shall observe one Ancient, and the others that are Modern will be too Remarkable, in the

Declines or Decays of this great Empire of Wit. The first Change of Poetry was made, by Translating it into Prose, or Cloathing it in those loose Robes, or common Veils that disguised or covered the true Beauty of its Features, and Exactness of its Shape. This was done first by *Æsop* in *Greek*, but the Vein was much more ancient in the *Eastern* Regions, and much in Vogue, as we may observe, in the many Parables used in the Old Testament, as well as in the new. And there is a Book of Fables, of the Sort of *Æsop's*, Translated out of *Persian*, and pretended to have been so, into that Language out of the ancient *Indian*; But though it seems Genuine of the *Eastern* Countries, yet I do not take it to be so old, nor to have so much Spirit as the *Greek*. The next Succession of Poetry in Prose, seems to have been in the *Miletian* Tales, which were a Sort of little Pastoral Romances; and though much in request in old *Greece* and *Rome*, yet we have no Examples that I know of them, unless it be the *Longi Pastoralia*, which gives a Taste of the great Delicacy and Pleasure, that was found so generally in those
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sort of Tales. The last Kind of Poetry in Prose, is that which in latter Ages has over run the World, under the Name of Romances, which tho' it seems Modern, and a Production of the *Gothick* Genius, yet the Writing is ancient. The Remainders of *Petronius Arbiter*, seem to be of this Kind, and that which *Lucian* calls his True History: But the most ancient that passes by the Name, is *Heliodorus*, Famous for the Author's chusing to lose his Bishoprick, rather than disown that Child of his Wit. The true Spirit or Vein of ancient Poetry in this Kind, seems to shine most in Sir *Philip Sidney*, whom I esteem both the greatest Poet and the noblest Genius of any that have left Writings behind them, and published in ours or any other modern Language; a Person born capable not only of forming the greatest *Ideas*, but of leaving the Noblest Examples, if the Length of his Life had been equal to the Excellence of his Wit and Virtues.

With him I leave the Discourse of ancient Poetry, and to discover the Decays of this Empire, must turn to that of the Modern, which was introduced after the Decays, or rather Extinction

of the old, as if true Poetry being dead, an Apparition of it walked about. This mighty Change, arrived by no smaller Occasions, nor more ignoble Revolutions, than those which destroyed the ancient Empire and Government of *Rome*, and Erected so many new ones upon their Ruines, by the Invasions and Conquests, or the General Inundations of the *Goths* or *Vandals*, and other Barbarous or Northern Nations, upon those Parts of *Europe* that had been subject to the *Romans*. After the Conquests made by *Cæsar* upon *Gaul*, and the nearer parts of *Germany*, which were continued and enlarged in the Times of *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, by their Lieutenants or Generals; great Numbers of *Germans* and *Gauls* resorted to the *Roman* Armies, and to the City it self, and habituated themselves there, as many *Spaniards*, *Syrians*, *Græcians* had done before, upon the Conquest of those Countries. This Mixture, soon Corrupted the Purity of the *Latin* Tongue, so that in *Lucan* but more in *Seneca*, we find a great and harsh Allay entered into the Stile of the *Augustan* Age. After *Trajan* and *Adrian* had subdued many *German* and *Scythian* Nations; on both sides of the
Danube,

Danube, the Commerce of those barbarous people grew very frequent with the *Romans*; and I am apt to think, that the little Verses ascribed to *Adrian*, were in Imitation of the *Runic* Poetry. The *Scythicas Pati Pruinæ* of *Florus*, shews their Race or Climate, and the first Rhyme that ever I read in *Latin*, with little Allusions of Letters or Syllables, is in that of *Adrian*, at his Death.

*O Animula, vagula, blandula,
 Quæ nunc abibis in loca,
 Palidula, lurida, timidula,
 Nec ut soles dabis Joca.*

'Tis probable, the old Spirit of Poetry, being lost or frightened away by those long and bloody Wars, with such barbarous Enemies, this new Ghost began to appear in its Room, even about that Age, or else that *Adrian*, who affected that piece of Learning as well as others, and was not able to reach the old Vein, turned to a new one, which his Expeditions into those Countries made more allowable in an Emperor, and his Example recommended to others. In the time of *Boetius*, who lived under *Theodorick* in *Rome*, we find the *Latin* Poetry

smell rank of this *Gothick* Imitation, and the old Vein quite seared up,

After that Age, Learning grew every Day more and more obscured, by that Cloud of Ignorance, which coming from the *North* and increasing with the Numbers and Successes of those Barbarous People, at length over-shadowed all *Europe*, for so long together. The *Roman* Tongue began it self to fail or be disused, and by its Corruption made Way for the Generation of three New Languages, in *Spain*, *Italy* and *France*. The Courts of the Princes and Nobles, who were of the conquering Nations, for several Ages used their *Gothick*, or *Franc*, or *Saxon* Tongues, which were mingled with those of *Germany* where, some of the *Goths* had sojourned long, before they proceeded to their Conquest of the more *Southern* or *Western* Parts. Where-ever the *Roman* Colonies had long remained, and their Language, had been generally spoken, the common people used that still, but vitiated with the base Allay of their Provincial Speech. This in *Charlemain's* Time was called in *France*, *Rustica Romana*; and in *Spain* during the *Gothick* Reigns there, *Romance*; but in *England*, from whence all the
Roman

Roman Soldiers, and great Numbers of the *Brittains* most accustomed to their Commerce and Language, had been drained for the Defence of *Gaul* against the barbarous Nations that invaded it about the Time of *Valentinian*, that Tongue being wholly extinguisht, (as well as their own) made Way for the intire Use of the *Saxon* Language. With these Changes, the ancient Poetry was wholly lost in all these Countries, and a new Sort grew up by Degrees, which was called by a new Name of Rhimes, with an easy Change of the *Gothick* Word *Runes* and not from the *Greek*, *Rythmes*, as is vulgarly supposed.

Runes, was properly the Name of the Ancient *Gothick* Letters or Characters, which were invented first or introduced by *Odin*, in the Colony or Kingdom of the *Getes* or *Goths* which he planted in the *North-West* Parts, and round the *Baltick* Sea, as has been before related. But because all the Writings, they had among them for many Ages, were in Verse, it came to be the common Name of all Sorts of Poetry among the *Goths*, and the Writers or Composers of them, were called *Runers* or *Rymers*. They had likewise another Name for them,
or

or for some Sorts of them, which was *Väses* or *Wises*, and because the Sages of that Nation, expressed the best of their Thoughts, and what Learning and Prudence they had, in these Kind of Writings, they that succeeded best and with most Applause were termed wise Men, the good Sense or Learning, or useful Knowledge contained in them, was called Wisdom, and the pleasant or facetious Vein among them, was called Wit, which was applied to all Spirit or Race of Poetry, where it was found in any Men, and was generally pleasing to those that heard, or read them.

Of these *Runes*, there was in Use among the *Goths* above a hundred several Sorts, some composed in longer, some in shorter Lines, some equal, and others unequal, with many different Cadencies, Quantities, or Feet, which in the pronouncing, make many different sorts of original or natural tunes. Some were framed with Allusions of words or consonance of Syllables, or of Letters, either in the same Line, or in the Dystick, or by alternate Succession and Resemblance, which made a sort of Gingle, that pleased the ruder Ears of that people. And
because

because their Language was composed most of Monosyllables and of so great Numbers, many must end in the same sound; another Sort of *Runes* were made, with the Care and Study of ending two Lines, or each other of four Lines, with Words of the same Sound, which being the easiest, requiring less Art, and needing less Spirit (because a certain Chime in the Sounds supplied that Want, and pleased common Ears; this in time grew the most general among all the *Gotbick* Colonies in *Europe*, and made Rhymes or Runes, pass for the modern Poetry; in these parts of the World.

This was not used only in their modern Languages, but during those ignorant Ages, even in that barbarous *Latin* which remained, and was preserved among the *Monks* and *Priests*, to distinguish them, by some Shew of Learning, from the Laity, who might well admire it, in what Degree soever, and Reverence the Professors, when they themselves could neither write nor read, even in their own Language; I mean not only the vulgar Lay-men, but even the generality of Nobles, Barons, and Princes among them; and this lasted, till the ancient Learning and Languages began

began to be restored in *Europe*, about Two Hundred Years ago.

The common Vein of the *Gothick Runes* was what is termed *Dithirambick*, and was of a raving or rambling Sort of Wit or Invention, loose and flowing, with little Art or Confinement to any certain Measures or Rules; yet some of it wanted not the true Spirit of Poetry in some Degree, or that natural Inspiration which has been said to arise from some Spark of Poetical Fire, wherewith particular Men are born. And such as it was it served the Turn, not only to please, but even to charm the Ignorant and Barbarous Vulgar, where it was in Use. This made the *Runes* among the *Goths*, as much in Request and admired, as any of the ancient and most celebrated Poets were among the Learned Nations; for among the blind, he that has one Eye is a Prince. They were as well as the others thought inspired, and the Charms of their *Runick* Conceptions, were generally esteemed Divine or Magical at least.

The Subjects of them were various, but commonly the same with those already observed in the true ancient Poetry.

try. Yet this Vein was chiefly employ-
ed, upon the Records of Bold and Mar-
tial Actions, and the Praises of Valiant
Men that had Fought succesfully or
Dyed bravely, and these Songs or Bal-
lads were usually sung at Feasts, or in
Circles of Young or idle Persons, and
served to inflame the Humour of War,
of Slaughter, and of Spoils among them.
More refined Honour or Love, had little
part in the Writings, because it had lit-
tle in the Lives or Actions of those fierce
People and bloody Times. Honour
among them consisted in Victory, and
Love in Rapes and in Lust.

But as the true Flame of Poetry was
rare among them, and the rest was but
Wild-fire that sparkled or rather crackled
a while, and soon went out with little
Pleasure or Gazing of the Beholders;
Those *Runers* who could not raise Ad-
miration by the Spirit of their Poetry,
endeavoured to do it by another, which
was that of Enchantments; This came
in to supply the Defect of that sublime
and inarvellous, which has been found
both in Poetry and Prose among the
Learned Ancients. The *Gothick Runers*,
to Gain and Establish the Credit and Ad-
miration of their Rhymes, turned the use
of

of them very much to Incantations and Charms, pretending by them to raise Storms, to Calm the Seas, to cause Terror in their Enemies, to transport themselves in the Air, to conjure Spirits, to Cure Diseases, and Stanch Bleeding Wounds, to make Women kind or easy, and Men hard or invulnerable; as one of their most ancient *Runers*, affirms of himself and his own Atchievements, by Force of these Magical Arms, The Men or Women, who were thought to perform such Wonders or Enchantments, were from *Vüses* or *Wises*, the name of those Verses wherein their Charms were conceived, called *Wizards*, or *Witches*.

Out of this Quarry, seem to have been raised, all those Trophies of Enchantment, that appear in the whole Fabrick of the old *Spanish* Romances which were the Productions of the *Gothick* Wit among them, during their Reign; and after the Conquests of *Spain* by the *Saracens*, they were applied to the long Wars between them and the Christians. From the same perhaps may be derived, all the visionary Tribe of *Faries*, *Elves*, and *Goblins* of *Sprites*, and of *Bul-beggars*, that serve not only to fright Children into whatever their Nurses please, but
some-

Sometimes, by lasting Impressions, to disquiet the Sleeps, and the very Lives of Men and Women, till they grow to Years of Discretion, and that God knows is a Period of Time, which some people arrive to but very late, and perhaps others never. At least, this Belief prevailed so far among the *Goths* and their Races, that all Sorts of Charms were not only attributed to their *Runes* or *Verfes*, but to their very Characters; so that about the Eleventh Century, they were forbidden and abolished in *Sweden*, as they had been before in *Spain*, by Civil and Ecclesiastical Commands or Constitutions, and what has been since recovered of that Learning or Language, has been fetcht as far as *Ysland* it self.

How much of this Kind, and of this Credulity remained, even to our own Age, may be observed by any Man that reflects so far as thirty or forty Years; how often avouched, and how generally credited were the Stories of *Faries*, *Sprites*, *Witchcrafts*, and *Enchantments*; In some Parts of *France*, and not longer ago, the common people believed certainly there were *Longarogs*, or Men turned into Wolves; and I remember several *Irish* of the same Mind. The

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Remainders are woven into our very Language; *Mara* in old *Runick* was a *Goblin* that seized upon Men asleep in their Beds, and took from them all Speech and Motion. Old *Nicka* was a Sprite that came to strangle People who fell into the Water: *Bo* was a fierce *Gothick* Captain, Son of *Odin*, whose Name was used by his Soldiers when they would fright or surprise their Enemies; and the Proverb of Rhiming *Rats to Death*, came I suppose from the same Root.

There were not longer since than the time I have mentioned, some remainders of the *Runick* Poetry among the *Irish*. The Great Men of their Scepts, among the many Offices of their Family, which continued always in the same Races, had not only a *Physitian*, a *Hunts-Man*, a *Smith* and such like, but a *Poet* and a *Tale teller*: The first Recorded and Sung the Actions of their Ancestors, and Entertained the Company at Feasts; The latter amused them with Tales when they were melancholy and could not sleep: And a very Gallant Gentleman of the *North of Ireland* has told me of his own Experience. That in his Wolf-Huntings there, when he used to be a-
broad

broad in the Mountains three or four Days together, and lay very ill a Nights, so as he could not well sleep; they wou'd bring him one of these *Tale-tellers*, that when he lay down, would begin a Story of a King, or a Gyant, a Dwarf and a Damsel, and such rambling Stuff, and continue it all Night long in such an even Tone that you heard it going on, whenever you awaked; and he believed nothing any Physitians give could have so good and so innocent Effect, to make Men sleep, in any Pains or Distempers of Body or Mind. I remember in my Youth, some Persons of our Country to have said Grace in Rhimes, and others their constant Prayers; and 'tis vulgar enough, that some Deeds or Conveyances of Land have been so, since the Conquest.

In such poor wretched weeds as these, was Poetry cloathed during those shades of Ignorance that overspread all *Europe*, for so many Ages after the Sun-set of the *Roman* Learning and Empire together, which were succeeded by so many new Dominions, or Plantations of the *Gothick* Swarms, and by a new Face of Customs, Habit, Language, and almost of Nature: But upon the Dawn of a new Day, and the Resurrection of other Sci-

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ences,

ences, with the Two Learned Languages among us, This of Poetry began to appear very early, tho' very unlike it self and in Shapes as well as Cloaths, in Humor and in Spirit very different from the Ancient. It was now all in Rhime, after the *Gothick* Fashion, for indeed none of the several Dialects of that Language or Allay, would bear the Composure of such Feet and Measures, as were in use among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, and some that attempted it, soon left it off, despairing of Success. Yet in this new Dress, Poetry was not without some Charms, especially those of Grace and Sweetness, and the Ore begun to shine in the Hands and Works of the first Refiners. *Petrarch*, *Ronsard*, *Spencer*, met with much Applause upon the Subjects of Love, Praise, Grief, Reproach. *Ariosto* and *Tasso*, entered boldly upon the Scene of *Heroick* Poems, but having not Wings for so high Flights began to learn of the old Ones, fell upon their Imitations, and chiefly of *Virgil*, as far as the Force of their Genius, or disadvantages of new Languages and Customs would allow. The Religion of the Gentiles, had been woven into the Contexture of all the ancient Poetry with a very agreeable Mixture, which
made

made the Moderns affect to give that of Christianity, a Place also in their Poems. But the true Religion was not found to become Fiction so well, as a false had done, and all their attempts of this kind, seemed rather to debase Religion, than to heighten Poetry, *Spencer* endeavoured to supply this with Morality and to make Instruction, instead of Story, the Subject of an *Epick* Poem. His Execution was excellent, and his Flights of Fancy very Noble and High, but his Design was Poor, and his Moral lay so bare, that it lost the Effect; 'tis true the Pill was Gilded, but so thin, that the Colour and the Taste were too easily discovered.

After these three, I know none of the Moderns that have made any Attchievements in *Heroick* Poetry worth recording. The Wits of the Age, soon left off such bold adventures, and turned to other Veins as if not worthy to sit down at the Feast, they contented themselves with the Scraps, with Songs and Sonnets, with Odes and Elegies, with Satyrs and Panegyricks, and what we call Copies of Verses upon any Subjects or Occasions wanting either Genius or Application for Nobler or more Laborious productions, as *Painters* that cannot suc-

ceed in great Pieces, turn to Miniature

But the Modern Poets, to value this small Coin, and make it pass, tho' of so much a baser Metal than the old, gave it a new Mixture from Two Veins which were little known or little esteemed among the Ancients. There were indeed certain *Fairyes* in the old Regions of Poetry called *Epigrams*, which seldom reached above the Stature of two or four, or six Lines, and which being so short, were all turned upon Conceit, or some sharp Hits of Fancy or Wit. The only ancient of this Kind among the *Latins*, were the *Priapeia*, which were little Voluntaries or Extemporaries, written upon the ridiculous Wooden Statues of *Priapus*, among the Gardens of *Rome*. In the Decays of the *Roman* Learning and Wit, as well as Language, *Martial*, *Ausonius*, and others, fell into this Vein, and applied it indifferently to all Subjects, which was before restrained to one, and drest it something more cleanly than it was Born. This Vein of Conceit, seemed proper for such scraps or Splinters, into which Poetry was broken, and was so eagerly followed, as almost to over run all that was composed in our several modern Languages, the *Italian*, the *French*,
the

the *Spanish* as well as *English*, were for a great while full of nothing else but Conceit: It was an Ingredient, that gave Tast to Compositions which had little of themselves; 'twas a Sauce that gave Point to meat that was flat, and some Life, to Colours that were fading; and in short, those who could not furnish Spirit, supplied it with this Salt which may preserve Things or Bodies that are dead; but is, for ought I know, of little use to the Living, or necessary to Meats that have much or pleasing Tasts of their own. However it were, this Vein first overflowed our modern Poetry, and with so little Distinction or Judgment that we would have Conceit as well as Rhyme in every Two Lines, and run through all our long Scribes as well as the short, and the whole Body of the Poem, whatever it is: This was just as if a Building should be nothing but Ornament, or Cloaths, nothing but Trimming; as if a Face should be covered over with black Patches, or a Gown with Spangles, which is all I shall say of it.

Another Vein which has entred and helpt to corrupt our Modern Poesy, is that of Ridicule, as if nothing pleas'd but what made one laugh, which yet come

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from

from two very different Affections of the Mind ; for as Men have no Disposition to laugh at Things they are most pleased with, so they are very little pleased with many Things they laugh at.

But this Mistake is very general, and such modern Poets, as found no better Way of pleasing, thought they could not fail of it by ridiculing. This was encouraged by finding conversation run so much into the same Vein, and the Wits in Vogue to take up with that part of it, which was formerly left to those that were called Fools, and were used in great Families, only to make the Company laugh. What Opinion the *Romans* had of this Character appears in those Lines of *Horace*,

— — — *Absentem qui rodit amicum,*
Qui non defendit alio culpante solutos
Qui captat risus hominum famamq; diçacis
Fingere qui non visa potest, Commissa tacere
Qui nequit, Hic Niger est, Hunc tu Romane
[caveto:]

And 'tis pity the Character of a Wit, in one Age, should be so like that of a Black in another,

Rablais seems to have been Father of the Ridicule a Man of excellent and universal

versal Learning as well as Wit, and tho' he had too much Game given him for *Satyr* in that Age, by the Customs of Courts and of Convents, of Processes and of Wars, of Schools and of Camps, of Romances and Legends; yet he must be confest to have kept up his Vein of Ridicule by saying many Things so malicious, so smutty, and so prophane, that either a prudent, a modest, or a pious Man, could not have afforded, tho' he had never so much of that Coin about him, and it were to be wish'd, that the Wits who have followed his Vein had not put too much value upon a Dress, that better Understandings would not wear (at least in publick) and upon a Compass they gave themselves, which other Men would not take. The matchless Writer of *Don Quixot* is much more to be admired, for having made up so excellent a composition of Satyr or Ridicule, without those Ingredients, and seems to be the best and highest Strain that ever was, or will be reached by that Vein.

It began first in Verse, with an *Italian* Poem, called *La Secchia Rapita*, was pursued by *Scarron* in *French*, with his *Virgil* Travesty, and in *English* by Sir *John Mince*, *Hudibras* and *Cotton*, and

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with

with greater Height of *Burlesque* in the *English*, than I think in any other Language. But let the Execution be what it will, the Design, the Custom, and Example are very pernicious to Poetry, and indeed, to all Virtue and good Qualities among Men, which must be disheartened, by finding how unjustly and undistinguished they fall under the Lash of Raillery, and this Vein of ridiculing the Good as well as the Ill, the Guilty and the Innocent together. 'Tis a very poor, tho' common pretence to merit, to make it appear by the Faults of other Men. A mean Wit or Beauty may pass in a Room, where the rest of the Company are allowed to have none; 'tis something to sparkle among Diamonds, but to shine among *Pebbles*, is neither Credit nor Value worth the pretending.

Besides these two Veins brought in, to supply the Defects of the Modern Poetry, much Application has been made to the Smoothness of Language or Stile, which has at the best, but the Beauty of Colouring in a Picture, and can never make a good one, without Spirit and Strength. The Academy set up by Cardinal *Rich-lieu*, to amuse the Wits of that Age and Country, and divert them from
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raking into his Politick and Ministry, brought this in Vogue; and the *French* Wits have for this last Age, been in a Manner wholly turned to the Refinement of their Language, and indeed with such Success, that it can hardly be excelled, and runs equally through their Verse and their Prose. The same Vein has been likewise much cultivated in our Modern *English* Poetry, and by such poor Recruits, have the broken Forces of this Empire been of late made up, with what Success I leave to be judged by such, as consider it in the former Heights, and the pleasant Declines both of Power and of Honour, but this will not discourage, however it may affect, the true Lovers of this Mistress, who must ever think her a Beauty in Rags as well as in Robes.

Among these many Decays, there is yet one Sort of Poetry, that seems to have succeeded much better with our Moderns, than any of the rest, which is *Dramatick*, or that of the Stage: In this the *Italian*, the *Spanish*, and the *French*, have all had their different Merit, and received their just Applauses. Yet I am deceived, if our *English*, has not in some Kind excelled both the Modern
and

and the Ancient, which has been by Force of a Vein natural perhaps to our Country, and which with us is called Humour, a Word peculiar to our Language too, and hard to be expressed in any other ; nor is it (that I know of) found in any foreign Writers, unless it be *Moliere* and yet his it self has too much of the Farce, to pass for the same with ours. *Shakespear* was the first that opened this Vein upon our Stage, which has run so freely and so pleasantly ever since, that I have often wondered, to find it appear so little upon any others ; being a Subject so proper for them, since Humour is but a Picture of particular Life, as Comedy is of general, and tho' it represents Dispositions and Customs less common, yet they are not less natural than those that are more frequent among Men ; for if Humour it self be forced it loses all the Grace, which has been indeed the Fault of some of our Poets most celebrated in this Kind.

It may seem a Defect in the ancient Stage, that the Characters introduced were so few, and those so common, as a covetous old Man, an amorous young, a witty Wench, a crafty Slave, a bragging

ging Soldier: The Spectators met nothing upon the Stage, but what they met in the Streets, and at every Turn. All the Variety is drawn only from different and uncommon Events; whereas if the Characters are so too, the Diversity and the Pleasure must needs be the more. But as of most general Customs in a Country, there is usually some Ground, from the Nature of the People or Climat, so there may be amongst us, for this Vein of our Stage, and a greater Variety of Humour in the Picture, because there is a greater Variety in the Life. This may proceed from the native Plenty of our Soil, the Unequalness of our Climat, as well as the Ease of our Government, and the Liberty of professing Opinions and Factions, which perhaps our Neighbours may have about them, but are forced to disguise, and thereby they may come in time to be extinguish'd. Plenty begets Wantonness and Pride, Wantonness is apt to invent, and Pride scorns to imitate; Liberty begets Stomach or Heart, and Stomach will not be constrained. Thus we come to have more Originals, and more that appear what they are, we have more Humour because every Man follows his own, and takes a Pleasure, perhaps a Pride to shew it. On

On the contrary, where the People are generally poor, and forced to hard Labour, their Actions and Lives are all of a Piece; where they serve hard Masters, they must follow his Examples as well as Commands, and are forced upon Imitation in small Matters, as well as Obedience in great: So that some Nations look as if they were cast all by one Mould, or cut out all by one Pattern, (at least the common People in one, and the Gentlemen in another :) They seem all of a sort in their Habits, their Customs, and even their Talk and conversation, as well as in the Application and Pursuit of their Actions and their Lives.

Besides all this, there is another sort of Variety amongst us, which arises from our Climat, and the Dispositions it Naturally produces. We are not only more unlike one another, than any Nation I know, but we are more unlike our selves too, at several times, and owe to our very Air, some ill Qualities as well as many good: We may allow some Distempers Incident to our Climat, since so much Health, Vigour, and Length of Life have been generally ascribed to it; for among the *Greek* and *Roman* Authors themselves, we shall find the *Britains* observed, to live the longest, and the *Ægyptians*

gyptians the shortest, of any Nations that were known in those Ages. Besides, I think none will dispute the Native Courage of our Men, and Beauty of our Women, which may be else where as great in Particulars, but no where so in General; they may be (what is said of Diseases) as Acute in other Places, but with us, they are Epidemical. For my own Part, who have conversed much with Men of other Nations, and such as have been both in great Employments and Esteem, I can say very impartially, that I have not observed among any, so much true Genius as among the *English*; no where more Sharpness of Wit, more Pleasantness of Humour, more Range of Fancy, more Penetration of Thought or Depth of Reflection among the better Sort: No where more Goodness of Nature and of Meaning, nor more Plainness of Sense and of Life than among the common Sort of country People, nor more blunt Courage and Honesty, than among our Sea-Men.

But with all this, our Country must be confest, to be what a great Foreign Physician called it, the Region of Spleen, which may arise a good Deal from the great Uncertainty and many suddain Changes.

Changes of our Weather in all Seasons of the Year. And how much these affect the Heads and Hearts, especially of the finest Tempers, is hard to be believed by Men, whose Thoughts are not turned to such Speculations. Thus makes us unequal in our Humours, inconsistent in our Passions, uncertain in our Ends, and even in our Desires. Besides, our different Opinions in Religion and the Factions they have raised or animated, for fifty Years past, have had an ill Effect upon our Manners and Customs, inducing more Avarice, Ambition, Disguise (with the usual Consequences of them) than were before in our Constitution. From all this it may happen that there is no where more true Zeal in the many different Forms of Devotion, and yet no where more Knavery under the Shews and Pretences. There are no where so many Disputes upon Religion, so many Reasoners upon Government, so many Refiners in Politicks, so many curious Inquisitives, so many Pretenders to Business and State-Impliments, greater Porers upon Books, nor Plodders after Wealth. And yet no where more abandoned Libertines, more refined Luxurists,

urists, extravagant Debauches, conceited, Gallants, more Dabblers in Poetry as well as Politicks, in Philosophy and in Chymistry. I have had several Servants far gone in Divinity, others in Poetry; have known in the Families of some Friends, a Keeper deep in the *Rosycrucia* Principles, and a Laundress firm in those of *Epicurus*. What Effect soever such a Composition or Medley of Humours among us may have upon our Lives or our Government, it must needs have a good one upon our Stage, and has given admirable Play to our comical Wits. So that in my Opinion there is no Vein of that Sort either Ancient or Modern, which excells or equals the Humour of our Plays. And for the rest, I cannot but observe, to the Honour of our Country, that the good Qualities amongst us, seem to be natural, and the ill ones more accidental, and such as would be easily changed by the Examples of Princes, and by the Precepts of Laws; such I mean as should be designed to form Manners, to restrain Excesses, to encourage Industry, to prevent Mens Expences beyond their Fortunes, to countenance Virtue, and raise that true Esteem due to Plain Sense and Common Honesty.

But

But to spin off this Thread which is already grown too long: What Honour and Request the ancient Poetry has Lived in, may not only be observed from the Universal Reception and Use in all Nations from *China* to *Pern*, from *Scythia* to *Arabia*, but from the Esteem of the best and the greatest Men as well as the Vulgar. Among the *Hebrews*, *David* and *Solomon* the Wisest Kings, *Job* and *Jeremiah* the Holiest Men, were the best Poets of their Nation and Language. Among the *Greeks*, the Two most renowned Sages and Lawgivers were *Lycurgus* and *Solon*, whereof the Last is known to have excelled in Poetry, and the first was so great a Lover of it, that to his Care and Industry we are said (by some Authors) to owe the Collection and Preservation of the loose and scattered Pieces of *Homer*, in the Order wherein they have since appeared. *Alexander* is reported neither to have travelled nor slept, without those admirable Poems always in his Company. *Phalaris* that was inexorable to all other Enemies, relented at the Charms of *Stesichorus* his Muse. Among the *Romans*, the last and great *Scipio*, passed the soft Hours of his Life in the

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Conversation of *Terence*, and was thought to have a Part in the Composition of his Comedies. *Cæſar* was an excellent Poet as well as Orator, and composed a Poem in his Voyage from *Rome*, to *Spain*, relieving the tedious Difficulties of his March, with the Entertainments of his Muse. *Augustus* was not only a Patron, but a Friend and Companion of *Virgil* and *Horace*, and was himself, both an Admirer of Poetry, and a pretender too as far as his Genius would reach or his busy Scene allow. 'Tis true since his Age, we have few such Examples of great Princes favouring or affecting Poetry, and as few perhaps of great Poets deserving it. Whether it be, that the Fierceness of the *Gothick* Humours, or Noise of their perpetual Wars frightened it away; or that the unequal Mixture of the Modern Languages would not bear it; certain it is, that the great Heights and Excellency both of Poetry and Musick, fell with the *Roman* Learning and Empire, and have never since recovered the Admiration and Applauses that before attended them. Yet such as they are amongst us, they must be confess'd to be the softest and sweetest, the most

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General and most innocent Amusements^s of common Time and Life. They still find Room in the Courts of Princes, and the Cottages of Shepherds. They serve to revive and animate the dead Calm of poor or idle Lives, and to allay or divert the violent Passions and perturbations of the greatest and the busiest Men. And both these Effects are of equal Use to Human Life; for the Mind of Man is like the Sea, which is neither agreeable to the Beholder nor the Voyager, in a Calm or in a Storm, but is so to both, when a little agitated by gentle Gales; and so the Mind, when moved by soft and easy Passions and Affections. I know very well, that many who pretend to be wise, by the Forms of being grave, are apt to despise both Poetry and Musick as Toys and Trifles too light for the Use or Entertainment of serious Men. But whoever find themselves wholly insensible to these Charms wou'd I think do well, to keep their own Counsel, for fear of reproaching their own Temper, and bringing the Goodness of their Natures, if not of their Understandings, into Question: It may be thought at least an ill Sign, if not an

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ill Constitution, since some of the Fathers went so far, as to esteem the Love of Musick a Sign of Predestination, as a thing Divine, and reserved for the Felicities of Heaven it self. While this World lasts, I doubt not, but the Pleasure and Requests of these two Entertainments, will do so too, and happy those that content themselves with these, or any other so easy and so innocent, and do not trouble the World or other Men, because they cannot be quiet themselves, though no body hurts them.

When all is done, Human Life is at the greatest and the best, but like a froward Child, that must be play'd with and Humour'd a little, to keep it quiet till it falls asleep, and then the Care is over.

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